184
234 the Kars and the Pan *ti* the people of Kars are *mòrol*, but
618 they may only visit the *ti* and take buttermilk and are not
554 allowed to sleep there, nor have they any of the special
ceremonial duties of the Melgarsol.

234 When the dairy of a *ti mad* needs to be repaired or rebuilt,
this is done by Melgars men, who must previously undergo an
463 ordination ceremony of the same character as that for the
557 office of *wursol*, and the men rank as *wursol* while engaged
[358] in the work. The hut of the *ti mad* is also repaired or rebuilt
by the Melgarsol, but in this case the work is done without any special ceremony. In either case the Melgars men are not allowed to leave the *ti mad*, and they sleep in the living hut while the work is being done.

● [764] Another duty of the Melgarsol is to assist in carrying the
corpse of a *palol* who has died in office.

On the occasion of the *teutütusthchi* ceremony in 1902,
[123] when the *palol* and *kaltmokh* left the dairy at Mòdr for
several hours, I found a Melgars man in the neighbourhood of the dairy, and it seemed to me that he was watching the dairy while the regular guardians were away. I was told however, that this was not one of the recognised duties of a *mòrol*, and I suspected that he was stationed at Mòdr at the time of my visit, because it was feared that I might take advantage of the absence of the *palol* to make a closer inspection of the dairy than was allowed.

NEW DAIRY VESSELS

415 The earthenware vessels of the inner room (*persin* and
437 *tirzum*) are procured from Hindus through the Badagas.
They were formerly obtained from a place called Kulpet
439 (Kundapeta), near Nanjankudi in Mysore, and I was told
that the Todas used to go down to fetch them.

The earthenware vessels of the outer room (*alug*) are obtained from the Kotas like those of the ordinary dairy.
234 The churn or *bighlag* is made by the Todas themselves
314 from the slender bamboo growing on the hills.

322 The material out of which the bamboo vessels (*kwoi*,
415 *idrkwoi*, *karpun*, *uppun*) are made, is procured from a place

of this nature, and still less does it follow that the per- 787
formances of all the *teuol* are of this kind. Nothing struck 791
me more than the contrast between the frenzied condition of
Midjkudr and the calm, ordinary demeanour of Mongudrvan, 158
his fellow diviner.

In the case I have described the necessity for the interven- [764]
tion of the diviner arose out of the funeral proceedings, but it appears to be not uncommon for divination to be practised during funerals. Both Mr. Walhouse and Mr. Thurston have seen the process of divining going on at funerals. In Mr. Thurston's case he notes that the diviners talked in Malayalam, and offered an explanation of a gigantic figure which had suddenly appeared and as suddenly disappeared some time previously.

SORCERY

I met with greater difficulties in discovering the methods of 124
sorcery than in any other branch of my work. It was quite 754
certain that there were men called *piliutpol* (sorcery praying 791
people), or *pilikòren*, who had the reputation of possessing magical powers, comprised together under the title *piliutvichi* or *piliutiti*. I was able to obtain the names of these people from several sources, but when I approached any one of them on the subject he professed total ignorance and usually suggested that I should apply to some other man, who, he said, was a real *piliutpol*. Occasionally someone would give me a fragment of information, but would impress on me carefully that he had heard it from somebody else and did not know whether it was true or false.

One or two men, who were certainly not sorcerers, told me that they hoped that I should succeed in finding out the methods and would tell them, for they said that the Todas who had no magical powers were always trying to find out the methods of the sorcerers and were never successful.

I was told by two men that they believed that a sorcerer, by merely thinking of the effect he wished to produce, could produce the effect, and that it was not necessary for him to use any magical formula or practise any special rites.

843 the neck of the woman formed any part of the Toda ceremony.

It seemed, however, that after *pursütpimi* the woman is allowed to resume her ornaments, which she has been prohibited from wearing up to this time, and it is possible that this resumption of her ornaments may have been mistaken for "tying the *tali*." It seemed clear, however, that the ornaments were not put on by the husband, nor did the resumption of the ornaments partake in any way of a ceremonial character.

As I hoped to have a chance of witnessing this ceremony during my visit, I did not thresh out the details of *pursütpimi* as thoroughly as those of most other ceremonies and my account is not as complete as I could wish.

[851] The ceremony of *pursütpimi* is of the greatest importance from the social point of view and, as we shall see later, the fatherhood of the child depends entirely upon it. The man who gives the bow and arrow is the father of the child for all social purposes, and is regarded as such even if he has had nothing to do with the woman before the ceremony.

The ceremony must always be performed during the first pregnancy of a woman and it takes place in any succeeding pregnancy only when it is desired for any reason to alter the fatherhood of the children. One of the most serious scandals [224] in Toda society is the birth of a child when the mother has not been through this ceremony.

[764] Both the pregnancy ceremonies are performed at the first funeral of an unmarried or barren woman. In the case of an unmarried girl the bow and arrow are given at the *pursütpimi* ceremony by a *matchuni* of the deceased—*i.e.*, by a relative whom the deceased girl might herself have married. The hand-burning of the *irvatpimi* ceremony is usually performed by a woman of the same clan as the deceased.

171 Since the ceremonies are only performed at the first
843 pregnancy, or when it is desired to change the fatherhood
of a child, it seems clear that they closely resemble marriage
851 ceremonies. They would seem to be either marriage cere-
585 monies which have been postponed till shortly before the

CHAPTER XV

FUNERAL CEREMONIES

764 765 THE funeral ceremonies of a Toda may be prolonged over many months. Soon after death the body is burnt and the general name for the ceremony on this occasion is *etvainolkedr*, the first day funeral (literally, "first which day funeral"). After an interval which may vary greatly in length, a second ceremony is performed connected with certain relics of the deceased which have been preserved from the first occasion. The rites on this occasion are more elaborate than at the *etvainolkedr*. The Toda name for this second funeral ceremony is *marvainolkedr*, the second day funeral, or "again which day funeral." The final scene, in which the relics are burnt and the ashes buried, takes place before daybreak on the morning following the *marvainolkedr*, and this part of the ceremony is known as *azaramkedr*, the name being derived from the *azaram*, or circle of stones within which the final cremation takes place.

192 764 The funeral ceremonies are open to all and visitors are often invited by the Todas. In consequence, the funeral rites are better known, and have been more frequently described than any other features of Toda ceremonial. Like nearly every institution of the Todas, however, they have become known to Europeans under their Badaga names. The first funeral is called by the Badagas *hase kedu*, the fresh or green funeral, and the term 'green funeral' has not only become the generally recognised name among the European inhabitants of the Nilgiri Hills, but has been widely

192 764 adopted in anthropological literature. The second funeral is called by the Badagas *bara kedu*, the 'dry funeral,' and this term also has been generally adopted. I never heard these terms used by the Todas themselves, who always spoke of the *etvainolkedr* and the *marvainolkedr*, though it seemed that the first funeral might sometimes be called *karchokedr*, which probably means fresh or green funeral.

177 764 The funeral ceremonies have undergone some modification in recent times owing to the intervention of the Government. Formerly it was the custom to slaughter many buffaloes at every funeral. This impoverished the people and was prohibited by the Government about forty years ago, and since that time the number of buffaloes killed at each ceremony has been limited to two for each person. This has had most influence on the second funeral ceremonies, which, largely owing to this prohibition, are now much less elaborate and prolonged than in former times.

764 The funeral ceremonies are held at certain appointed places called *kertnòdr*, different for each clan. Sometimes these places are at, or close to, villages where the people are now living; sometimes they are at places which were formerly inhabited; while in other cases, again, there is no evidence that the funeral places have ever been inhabited. In every case, whether inhabited or not, the place where a funeral is held is called a *mad*, the same name as is used for a village.

Each clan has at least two funeral places, one for males and the other for females, and in several cases a clan has more than one funeral place for each sex. Some clans have different places for the two funeral ceremonies, and the Piedrol, who have one outlying branch of their clan at Kavidi in the Wainad, have special funeral places for the first funeral of members of this branch, the second funeral, or *marvainolkedr*, being held at the chief funeral place of the clan. Others, again, have a special place for boys who have not passed through the ear-piercing ceremony.

349 764 In general, a funeral hut (see Fig. 48) is specially built for the reception of the dead body, this hut being usually erected within a stone circle found at the funeral place. At the funeral of a male, this hut is called *kertnòdrpali* or *neilpali*. It is

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

left standing after the funeral and may be used on a second 349
occasion if it has not fallen into too great disorder. 764

Five clans of the Tartharol possess special dairies, each with
three rooms which are used as funeral huts. These buildings 343
are habitually or occasionally used as dairies; but when a 234
man of the clan dies his body is laid in the outermost of the three rooms, either on the day of the funeral or for two or three days before it. While a dead body is lying in the dairy, women are allowed to enter the outermost room just as they may go into any other funeral hut, but they may not pass beyond. Men are allowed to enter the middle room, but the innermost room is only entered by the dairyman, who carries on his dairy work as usual.

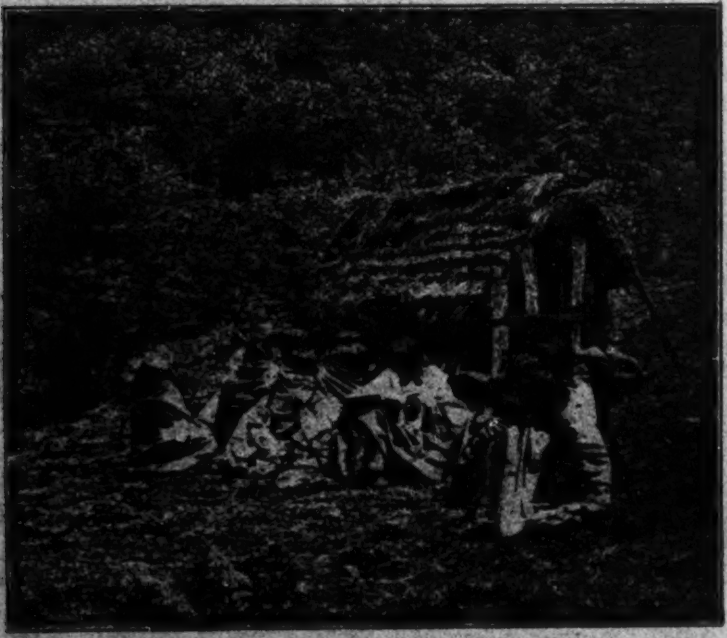

FIG. 48.—FUNERAL HUT ROUND WHICH WOMEN ARE LAMENTING. SEVERAL PAIRS ARE PRESSING THEIR FOREHEADS TOGETHER. THE HUT IS NOT WITHIN A STONE CIRCLE, SHOWING THAT THE FUNERAL IS NOT BEING HELD AT AN OLD FUNERAL PLACE.

349 The five villages at which these three-roomed dairies now
343 exist are Nòdrs, Taradrkirsi (Kars), Keradr, Tim (Pan), and
Akirsikòdri (Nidrsi). At Taradr a temporary funeral hut with
764 three rooms is constructed within a circle of stones near the vil-
234 lage. In the outermost room of this hut the corpse is placed, and women may only enter this room, while men may enter both outer and middle rooms as in the three-roomed dairies. In the innermost room the *palikartmokh* of the village places a vessel of the kind called *mu*, and he only is allowed to enter this room.

This temporary building is almost certainly the representative of a three-roomed dairy which at one time existed at this village; and it is probable that at other male Tarthar funeral places the funeral hut should be made with three rooms, though at present this is not done.

In every case the funeral hut which receives the body of a man is called *pali*, or dairy, and it is probable that at one time among the Tartharol it was the universal custom to place the body of a man in a dairy before the last rites. It is possible that the stone circle within which the funeral hut is built is the representative of the wall surrounding a dairy which formerly existed on the spot. Among the Teivaliol the funeral hut is also called *pali*, but there is no instance among them of an actual dairy being used to receive the dead.

349 At the funeral place of women a hut is specially built for
764 the reception of the body, but it is always burnt down after each funeral. This hut is called *ars*, or house, and has a different name for each ceremony, being called *nersars* for the first funeral, and *kursars* for the second. Each kind of hut is constructed within a circle of stones, and the name seems to indicate that at one time the body of a woman was placed in the house of the village. Here again the stone circle may possibly be the representative of an actual house which once existed at the funeral place.

766 If, for any reason, the funeral of a person is not being held at the proper place, the funeral hut is not constructed within the circle of stones; thus at the funeral of a girl, Sinerani (see p. 392), the hut was placed by the side of the stone circle

because her funeral was being held at the *kertnödr* of her father and not at that of her husband. 766

At every funeral place there should be a second circle of stones forming a *tu*, or buffalo-pen. These pens are now rarely, if ever, used, and are a relic of the time when the ceremonies of the *marvainolkedr* were prolonged over two days, the buffaloes being caught and penned on the first day, and killed on the second. A third ring of stones is the *azaram*, at the opening of which the ashes are buried at the final scene of the funeral rites. 764

There are specially appointed days for the funeral ceremonies. These days differ to some extent for different clans and for the two sexes. Sunday, Tuesday, and Thursday are the most general days for the funerals of males, only two clans having Saturday as a funeral day for men. For females Thursday and Saturday are most frequently chosen, two clans only holding the funerals of women on Tuesdays. In no case could I find that funerals are performed on Monday, Wednesday, or Friday. These days are, on the other hand, the most usual days set apart as *madnol* or *palinol*,[1] and villages which have their *madnol* or *palinol* on Sunday or Tuesday do not appear to have their funerals on these days. The general rule is that a funeral must not take place on a *madnol* or *palinol*. In several cases I was told that if the *mani*, or sacred bell, were used, the funeral must be on one day of the week; thus for the Karsol, it must take place on Sunday; for the Kwödrdoni people, on Tuesday. These obligatory days of the funeral ceremonies often involve the necessity of keeping the corpse for several days.

I did not make special inquiries into ceremonies of the deathbed, but Marshall states (p. 171) that a man who is not expected to recover is dressed in the ornaments and jewellery of his house, which he will wear till he dies or recovers; and Marshall mentions an instance of a man who had revived from what was thought to be his deathbed who paraded about, wearing the finery with which he had 763

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[1] The *madnol* and the *palinol* are sacred days on which certain activities are prohibited (see Chap. XVII).

763 been bedecked. In this case, it was said that he would be permitted to carry the ornaments till his death. Marshall also states that the relatives give the dying man milk to drink when on the point of death.

764 After death the body should be wrapped in a dark cloth called *än*, which is of the same material as the *tuni* worn
437 by the *palol* and other dairymen, and, like the *tuni*, is procured from the Badagas of Jakaneri. It is doubtful, however, whether this custom of enwrapping the body in the *än* is now kept up with any regularity. Outside the *än* should be an ornamented mantle (*pukuruputkuli*) and then a mantle of the ordinary kind.

764 The body of a woman is kept in the hut in which she has died till the day of the funeral, and, with special exceptions, this is also done with the bodies of men.

When a man dies at the village of Nòdrs, his body is taken into the three roomed *tarvali* and placed on the right-hand bed (*meitün*) of the outermost room. While the body is lying here, the building is still used as a dairy, but women are allowed to enter the outermost room except when the *palikartmokh* is actually engaged in the business of the dairy.
[234] It is only when it is being used as a funeral hut that women
[562] are ever allowed to enter a dairy, and then they may only sit on the left-hand bed—the *kitün*.

On the day appointed for the *etvainolkedr*, the body is carried to the funeral place. In some cases certain ceremonies are performed at the village at which the death has taken place; thus, at Kars, the body of a man is first laid in front of the *kudrpali* and then on one of the two eminences called *imudrikars* (see Fig. 21), which stand near the dairy, and from this it is taken to the other *imudrikars*, and after lying here for a while it is borne to the special funeral village of Taradrkirsi. At Kuzhu, another village of the Karsol, the body is taken from the hut and laid by the side of the stone called *menkars*; then it is taken to a stone called *imudrikars* in front of the *kudrpali*, and laid with the head at the stone and the feet towards the dairy. A buffalo of the ordinary kind (*putiir*) is then milked; the milk is put into a vessel and from this poured into a leaf cup of *kakud* leaves, and from this cup milk is poured three times into the mouth of the dead man.

In other villages at which there is no *imudrikars*, the body is laid in front of the dairy and fed with milk in the same way.

The body is borne from the village to the funeral place on a wooden bier, called *mänpedrkudr* (wood bier). It is taken by a specially appointed route, and in some cases certain ceremonies are performed by the way. Thus, when the body of a man is taken from Kars to Taradrkirsi, earth is thrown at two places. We shall see shortly that one of the most important features of the funeral of a man is that earth is dug at the entrance of a buffalo pen at the funeral place and thrown on the corpse and into the pen. On the way to Taradrkirsi this is also done at two places, which are probably the situations of the old buffalo pens of villages which have now disappeared. I did not hear of any similar practices for any other clan, but Kars is probably not exceptional in this respect.

Before the body arrives at the funeral place the people will have begun to assemble, and when the funeral procession reaches its destination all those present go one by one to the corpse, bow down by the side of the bier, and touch the body with their foreheads. Those older than the deceased and those related in certain ways (see Chap. XXI) bow down at the head of the corpse. Those younger and those related in certain other ways bow down at the foot. When all those present have saluted, the body is placed in the funeral hut, or in the dairy if the funeral is being held at one of the places where funeral dairies still exist, and late-comers enter the hut or dairy to perform their salutations. As soon as the body is placed in the hut or dairy, the female relatives and friends of the dead person collect round the hut and lament together in the characteristic Toda manner, arranging themselves in pairs and pressing their foreheads together while they wail and weep (Fig. 48).

While this is going on the men are busied in making preparations for the cremation. A place is cleared in a wood near the funeral place—the *mashkudi*—and here a pyre is

764 built of wood, some of which has been brought by the funeral party, while the rest is found near the burning ground. The wood used on this occasion must be of the kind called *kers*[1] and the pyre is built of an oblong shape, rising about three feet above the ground.

The first of the funeral ceremonies is different for the two sexes. At the funeral of a male the ceremony of *puzhutpimi*, "earth we throw," or *kedrpuzhutpimi*, "funeral earth we throw," is performed, while the corresponding ceremony for a woman is to place certain leaves in the armlet on the right arm of the corpse.

THE PUZHUTPIMI CEREMONY

616 764 602 In the *puzhutpimi* ceremony a man digs up a little earth in front of the entrance to the buffalo pen. The digger must belong to the Tartharol, if the dead man is one of the Teivaliol, and *vice versâ*; thus, at the funeral of Pursevan (53)[2] of Kuudr, the earth was dug by Kedjeri (6) of Nòdrs. In this case the Tartharol were told to send someone to dig, and they selected Kedjeri.

At the funeral of a Tarthar man the earth is first thrown by the *wursol*, who must be, on this occasion, one of the Teivaliol. A Melgars *wursol* may not perform this office. After the *wursol* has thrown earth, it is thrown by certain relatives of the deceased who are present. At a Teivali funeral only the relatives perform this ceremony, no one corresponding to the *wursol* taking part.

Before the people begin to throw earth, one of the dead man's division asks "*Puzhutkina?*"—"Shall I throw earth?" and a man of the other division replies, "*Puzhut!*"—"Throw earth!" At the funeral of Pursevan a Teivali man asked the Tartharol in this way, and the Tartharol responded. At this funeral earth was thrown by the following: Punatvan (53), a younger brother of the dead man; Kuriolv and Piliar (52), Pöteners (54); Targners, Pungusivan and Tevò, the sons of the

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[1] *Eugenia Arnottiana.* This is the tree in which the hole is cut at the *pursütpimi* ceremony.

[2] This was a *marvainolkedr*, but the rules for the earth-throwing are the same at the first funeral.

dead man, and Pòl, the son of Punatvan. In this case all 616
who threw earth were not only Kuudrol—*i.e.*, of the same 764
clan as the dead man—but were also of the same family, so
that their relation to one another can be traced in the 602
genealogies. Kuriolv, Piliar and Pöteners would all have called Pursevan "*aia*," or father, and were first cousins once removed according to our system of kinship. I do not know whether the earth-throwing is usually limited to the nearer relatives in the same clan. The family to which Pursevan belonged was unusually numerous, and it is probable that in most cases other families of the clan are called upon to take a part.

At a funeral seen by Mr. Walhouse[1] the earth was thrown 113
into a circle made of rough stones laid upon the grass with 764
an opening on one side, and Mr. Thurston[2] records a similar case in which the earth was thrown into a circle of stones about a yard and a half in diameter, which had been construct[illegible] the occasion. This is probably done when the funeral [illegible] held at a place where there is no *tu*, and it is possible that these funerals were not being held at regular funeral places of the clan, and that the circles of stones were intended to represent buffalo pens. At the funeral seen by Mr. Walhouse the 'priest' handed a bag to the nearest relatives, who tied it to the stick with which they turned up the earth.

Each man, as he throws, kneels down, facing the opening of 764
the pen, and then bows down so that he touches the earth with his forehead, many saying "*Swami*" as they do this. Three handfuls of earth are thrown into the pen, and then three handfuls are thrown backwards on the corpse, the man standing up as soon as he has done this. Each man covers his head with his cloak before he throws, as shown in Figs. 49 and 50.[3]

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[1] *Ind. Antiq.*, 1874, vol. iii., p. 274.

[2] *Bull.*, 1901, iv., p. 12.

[3] These photographs were obtained from Messrs. Wiele and Klein, and I do not know the place or nature of the funeral which they illustrate, but there is no indication of a pen in the picture; they probably represent throwing earth at the entrance of a former pen. There is such a place at Taradrkirsi, the male funeral place of the Kars clan. Here earth is thrown by the side of a wood where the forest has grown over the site of an old *tu*.

764 Fig. 50 shows the special action employed in throwing backwards, the hand being turned inward.

616 The earth-throwing ceremony is one of several funeral rites, in which men of one division take part in funerals
764 belonging to the other division. Thus, at a Tarthar funeral the earth is dug by one of the Teivaliol; the Tartharol then ask for permission to throw the earth, and the permission (or order) is given by the Teivaliol—*i.e.*, those who have dug the earth have to give the word that the earth may be thrown.

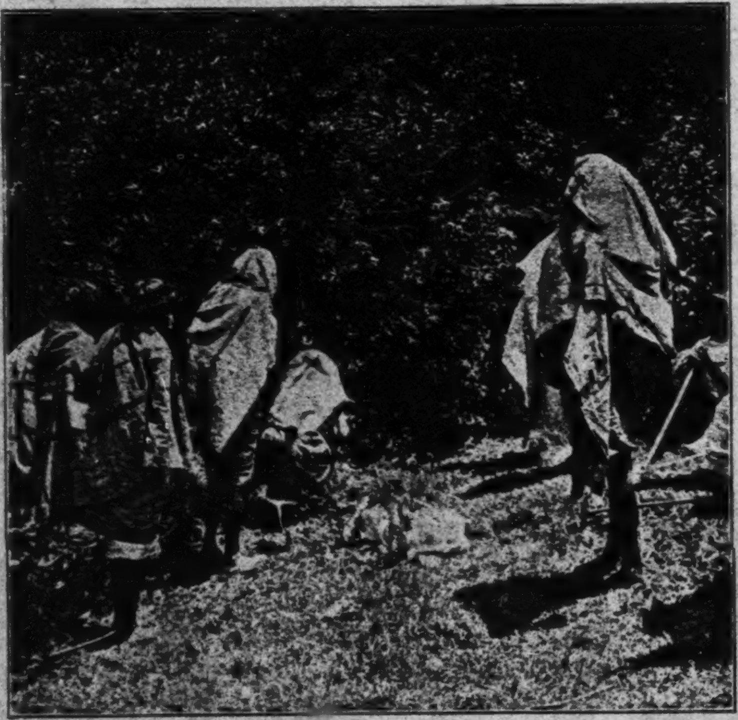

FIG. 49.—THE 'PUZHUTPIMI' CEREMONY. IN THE CENTRE IS THE CORPSE. THE FOREMOST MAN ON THE LEFT IS KNEELING DOWN PREPARATORY TO THROWING EARTH.

THE TIVERI TÛR CEREMONY

764 At the funeral of a woman no earth is thrown, but a 602 ceremony is performed which is said to correspond to it. A woman goes in search of the leaves of the *tiveri* plant,[1] the 606 leaves being called *tiveri tûr*. The woman who plucks the leaves must be the *mɔtvilth* (daughter-in-law) of the dead woman, but if it is a child who is dead the leaves are plucked by the mother-in-law or potential mother-in-law. If a dead woman has no daughter-in-law, it was said that her daughter might pluck the leaves, but at the funeral of Kiuneimi (3), a childless woman, the leaves were sought and plucked by Naburveli, the wife of Mushkers (28), who would have called the husband of Kiuneimi "brother," being of the same family and generation, although only his second cousin according to

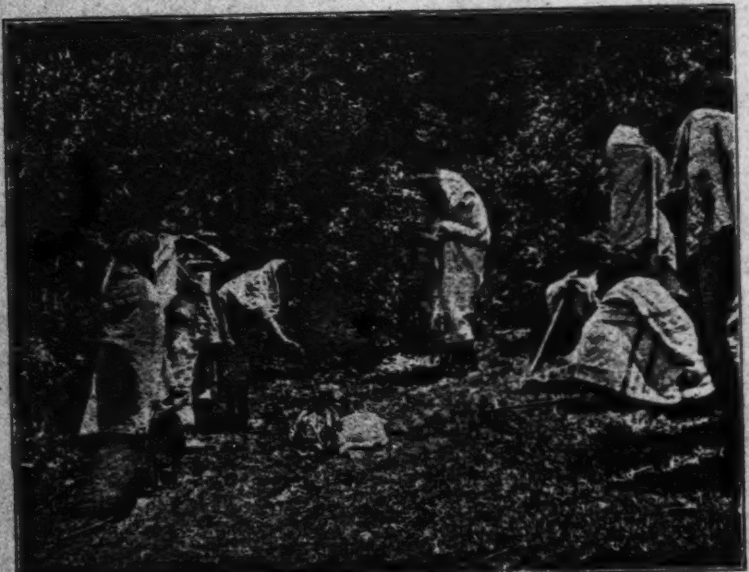

FIG. 50.—THE 'PUZHUTPIMI' CEREMONY. THROWING EARTH BACKWARDS ON THE CORPSE.

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[1] *Atylosia Candollei.*

602 606 764 our system of kinship. In this case, therefore, the leaves were plucked by a sister-in-law, or, more strictly, by the wife of the 'brother' of the dead woman's husband. In this case both Kiuneimi and Naburveli were daughters of Nòdrs men, but this was probably only a coincidence.

At the funeral of Kiuneimi, Naburveli was accompanied by a man and by another woman, but it was quite clear that they would on no account be allowed to touch the leaves, which must be plucked by the daughter-in-law or other relative who is performing the ceremony. When found, the *tiveri* leaves are put by the woman in the armlet on the right arm of the dead woman. Then the men present say to the woman :—

"*Parthül*	*ütchka,*	*tiveri*	*tür*	*parch*	*pudthka?"*
In the armlet	is it put,	*tiveri*	leaves	plucking	have you come?

and the woman replies :—

"*Tiveri*	*tür*	*parch*	*pudthpimi,*	*parthül*	*ütchpimi,*
Tiveri	leaves	plucking	we have come,	in the armlet	we have put,
ir	*püts!"*				
the buffalo	catch!				

The woman thus announces that this ceremony has been completed, and that they may proceed to the next event of the funeral rites, that of catching the buffalo.

The *tiveri tür* ceremony of a woman's funeral was said to correspond to the earth-throwing ceremony of a man's funeral, but this correspondence may only mean that each is the first of the actual funeral ceremonies. Since, however, a woman belongs to the clan of her husband, the leaves are always put into the armlet by a woman of the same clan as the deceased. In this respect the ceremony resembles that of earth-throwing, but my informants laid stress on the fact that the ceremony should be performed by a *motvilth* or other relative-in-law, and no reference was made to the fact that they would be of the same clan. This makes it probable that there is no real correspondence between the two ceremonies.

THE SLAUGHTER OF THE BUFFALOES.

The next stage in the proceedings is the catching and 234 killing of the buffalo or buffaloes. At the present time the 764 Todas are only permitted by the Government to kill two of these animals, and if the family of the dead person is poor only one may be killed. At the funeral of a man it is customary that one of the animals killed shall be an ordinary buffalo (*putiir*) and the other a sacred buffalo; one of the *pasthir* in the case of the Teivaliol, and usually one of the *wursulir* in the case of the Tartharol. At least one sacred buffalo must be killed at one or other funeral ceremony for every man, but this may be done either at the *etvainol-* or the *marvainolkedr*. Sacred buffaloes are only killed at the funerals of men, never at those of women.

When it was the custom to slaughter more than two buffaloes, there was often a rule that these should be of certain kinds; thus, at Nòdrs, it was once the custom to kill seven buffaloes at a man's funeral—viz., two *wursulir*, two *putiir*, and one each of the following kinds: *nashperthir*, *pineipir*, and *persasir*.

If the family possess no sacred buffalo, they must procure one by exchange, and it is customary to give two ordinary buffaloes for one of the sacred kind.

There is a definite spot appointed for the slaughter of each kind of buffalo. The ordinary buffalo is usually killed near the funeral hut, and sometimes there is a stone marking the spot at which the animal is to die. The *wursulir* are killed at a place usually marked by a stone called *teiks*. In cases where there is no stone the spot is marked by a wooden post (see Fig. 51), which has the same name, and I was told that it should be made of teak.[1]

In some cases there are other appointed stones or unmarked spots where buffaloes of other kinds are slaughtered; thus, at Nòdrs there are seven stones, at each of which a

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[1] If the word *teiks* is the same as that of teak wood it would make it probable that the buffalo was formerly killed by the side of a wooden post and that the use of a stone is secondary.

234 buffalo used to be killed, and the people of Pan have two
764 stones called *teiks*, one for each division of the clan.

The catching of the buffalo is one of the most exciting incidents of a Toda funeral. When only one or two buffaloes are to be killed it is usual to take about four buffaloes from the village of the dead person to the neighbourhood of the funeral place. When the preliminary ceremonies are over, all those who are attending the funeral move towards the place

FIG. 51.—THE WOODEN 'TEIKS' AT INIKITI.

at which the buffaloes are standing, while several of their number are chosen to catch the appointed animal or animals. At the same time, the buffaloes, which are usually standing in some hollow so that they cannot be seen from the funeral place, are driven towards the people. As soon as they appear the appointed men drop their cloaks and race to meet the buffaloes. The buffaloes are driven on from behind in a more vigorous manner than that to which they are accustomed, are more or less infuriated, and often rush wildly about in their efforts to

avoid the racing Todas, one of whom succeeds in catching 234
the appointed animal, seizing it by the horns, and then 764
hangs round its neck with one hand and seizes the
cartilage of the nose with the other. Another of the men
seizes a horn and also hangs round the neck of the animal, and
both men put their whole weight on the neck of the buffalo
and bear it to the ground. Often they are carried many
yards before they succeed in getting the infuriated animal
under control, and when catching the horns they are sometimes
severely gored, though this rarely happens now, and I
could hear of no case in which there had been fatal consequences.

The men who are appointed to catch the buffalo belong to 555
the Tartharol at a Teivali funeral and to the Teivaliol at a 616
Tarthar funeral. They are usually chosen from among
the younger and more agile of the community, but at an 764
important funeral the older and more experienced men may 541
undertake the duty. The catching of the buffalo is critically
watched, and some men have acquired great reputations for
the adroitness with which they perform the feat.

I have some reason to think that it is the custom to catch 234
the buffaloes at different places at the funerals of males 764
and females (see p. 393), but my information on this point is
not satisfactory.

The captured buffalo has next to be led to the spot appointed for its slaughter. The people of both divisions drive the animal, beating it with sticks, while the course taken by the animal is directed by the two men hanging on its horns and round its neck. The buffalo is beaten much more vigorously than ever happens on ordinary occasions, and it has seemed to many who have watched a Toda funeral that this vigorous beating must have some significance, and the idea of vicarious punishment is naturally suggested. I could obtain no information from the people on this point, and I am doubtful whether the beating means more than that, under the exceptional conditions, the animal requires much more vigorous driving than usual. Ordinarily the buffalo follows out its daily routine with little interference; it goes to its usual pasture, and, as I have seen myself, it

234 may return to the dairy of its own accord at the proper time.

764 At one funeral at which I was present the buffalo was so alarmed or so infuriated by the proceedings that it lay down and absolutely refused to move, and the efforts of all present were insufficient to drag the animal to the slaughtering place. This incident will be described more fully later, but I mention it here to show that it may often be difficult to drive the buffalo, and that the unaccustomed vigour with which the animal is beaten may have a natural and not a ceremonial reason.

234 Before the buffalo is killed two things have still to be done.
764 A bell or its substitute has to be hung on the neck of the buffalo, and butter rubbed on its back, head and horns.

778 If one of the *wursulir* is to be killed there is hung on its neck the sacred bell called *mani*, while the ordinary buffalo or *putiir* is given only the *kwungg* or household bell. A *mani* may also be used for the varieties of sacred buffalo called *nashperthir*, *persasir*, &c. Probably at one time there was a *mani* for each kind, but some of the sacred bells have been lost, and it is only in some clans that a bell can now be used. Those clans which have no *mani* do not use an ordinary bell, but they tie the sacred buffalo to the *teiks* by means of a piece of the creeper called *kakkudri*, about two yards in length. This is the case with all the Teivaliol except the people of Piedr and with the Melgarsol among the Tartharol. The *kakkudri* is said to be used in place of the *mani*.

The details as to the use of the *mani* differ somewhat in different clans. The Nòdrs people have two *mani*, called Kòdj and Kagur, which are now kept at Òdr. When a Nòdrs man dies these bells are fetched from Òdr by the *wursol* and one is hung on the neck of one of the *menggursir* and the other on the neck of one of the *nashperthir*.[1] After the *etvainolkedr* these bells are kept outside the conical dairy at Nòdrs in a special hole in a stone called *karsalb*. The people of Kars similarly take their *mani* to Taradrkirsi for the

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[1] Owing to the fact that the Nòdrs people do not kill both of these kinds of buffalo at one funeral at the present time, they now only bring one of the two bells from Òdr.

764

1: Rivers E-5 (ca.1901-02)1906 Toda

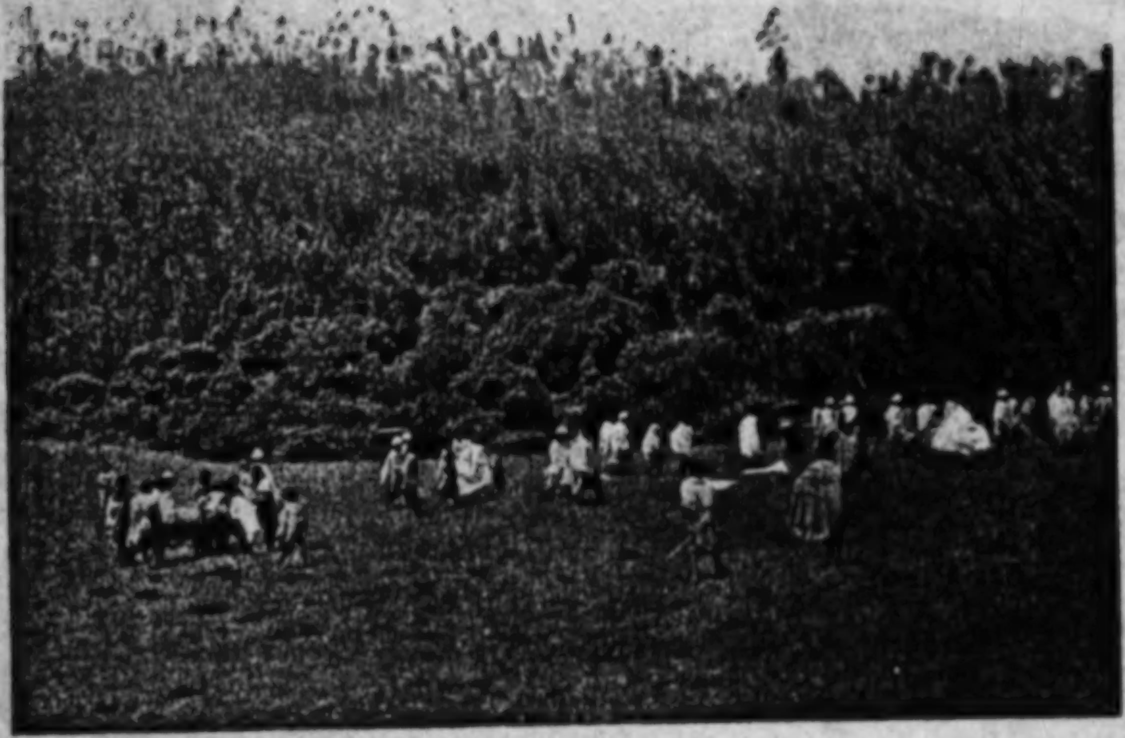

FIG. 52.—LEADING THE BUFFALO TO BE KILLED.

234 first funeral and keep it there till the funeral ceremonies are completed.

764 Among the Teivaliol the Piedrol are the only clan to
778 possess a *mani*, which is called Kerâni. It is kept in a wood or *shola* near the funeral place and lies in an earthenware pot buried in the ground. At the funeral of a Piedr man the bell is hung on the neck of a buffalo belonging to the *kudripir* (the special name for the *pasthir* of this clan). It is dug up by the Teivali *palikartpol* and given by him to a Nòdrs man, who ties it on the neck of the buffalo. The Nòdrs man chosen for this office must bathe on the morning of this day and must go without food till after the funeral.

234 Just before the buffalo is killed butter is smeared on the back
764 of the animal, on the horns and on the part of the head
618 between the horns. This should be done by a man of the same clan as the dead person.

The killing of the buffalo is called *irkipti*. It is done by striking the animal on the head with the back of an axe (*masth*). The animal is usually killed by one blow, though in some cases more are necessary. The *warsulir* are killed by the *warsal* and the ordinary buffaloes by men of the same division as the deceased, but of a different clan. Certain clans appear to have a prescriptive right to kill the buffalo; thus, among the Teivaliol, a Kuudr man kills at the funerals of members of all other clans, while at the funeral of a Kuudr man a member of one of the other clans performs this function. Among the Tartharol, the members of the Nòdrs and Kars clans appear to occupy the most privileged position, but the relations are more complicated than among the Teivaliol. At a Kars funeral the ordinary buffalo is killed by a man of Nòdrs, Taradr or Pan. At a funeral of a member of any of these three clans, a Kars man kills. At funerals in other clans, the buffalo is usually killed by men either of Kars or Nòdrs, but in the case of a Kwòdrdoni funeral, it seemed that the killing might also be done by a man of Pām or Nidrsi. Each buffalo is killed at the appointed stone or post, and the *teiks* at which the *warsulir* are killed is at some distance from the funeral hut, and a woman is not allowed to approach the spot lest she should see the sacred bell.

234 Though there is no definite landmark for the killing of the 764 *putiir*, each buffalo is killed at an appointed spot; thus, at the funeral of Sinerani (see p. 392), the buffalo at the *etvainolkedr* was killed on the left-hand side of the funeral hut.

As soon as the buffalo is felled the corpse is brought up and placed by the head of the dying animal (Fig. 53). At the funeral of a man, the covering of the body is unfolded and the right hand of the dead man is made to clasp one of the horns. At the funeral of a woman, the body is laid with its feet by the mouth of the buffalo.[1] At the funeral of a Pan man, Kwoten's ring is placed on the finger of the deceased before his hand is made to clasp the horn. Then the men present come to the buffalo and salute it by bowing down and placing their foreheads on the horns and on the head between the horns.

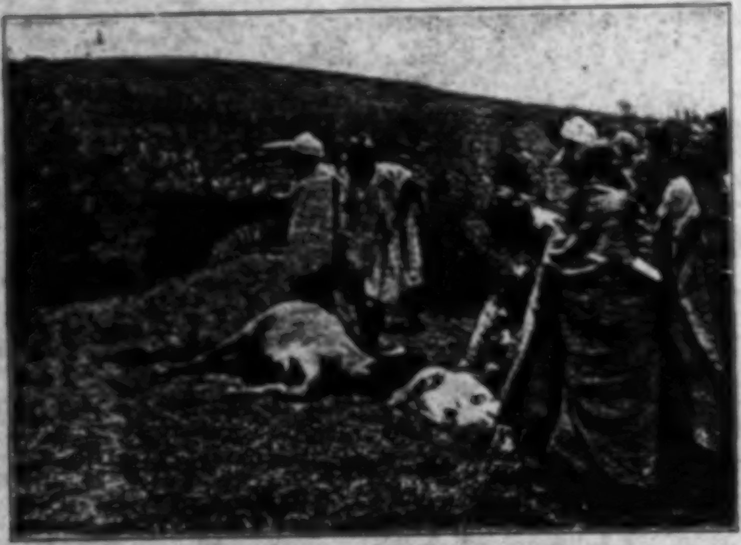

FIG. 53.—THE CORPSE BY THE HEAD OF THE DYING BUFFALO.

234 The people then group themselves round the buffalo and 764 corpse and cry together by placing forehead to forehead so 765 that their tears and cries mingle. In the case of the sacred

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[1] Some observers have stated that the feet of the corpse are placed within the mouth of the buffalo, but I could not confirm this.

234 buffalo, wearing the *mani*, this circle is composed of men only.
The lament[1] usually consists in calling first the name of the
764 buffalo and then speaking of the dead person, not by his name,
765 but by the term expressing the bond of kinship between the
lamenter and the dead. Thus at a funeral at which the
buffalo killed was called Pundrs, one man would cry:

"*Pundrsia*, – *en potch aia* *ivanersia*, *en potch aia*
O Pundrs, O my father.

I could not ascertain the meaning of *ivanersia*, except that its latter part is the word for buffalo with the vocative termination '*ia*.'

For a son, a man would cry after the name of the buffalo, "*en mokh ĭpa*"; for an elder brother, "*en potch anna*"; and similarly for other relatives. For a wife a man would cry "*isa kughia*," and for a husband a woman cries "*isa mokhia*" (*isa* is merely exclamatory).

It might appear from the form of lamentation that the buffalo itself was regarded as the father, son, &c., of the lamenter, and I could not satisfy myself as to what the people really had in their minds when they were lamenting in this way. It has been supposed that the lamentation is for the slaughtered buffalo, and I am unable positively to say that this is not the case. It is probable that the people grieve for the departure of one of their much-loved buffaloes, but I do not think that there is any decisive evidence that they are lamenting for the buffalo rather than for the dead person.

764 Within the group of mourners there is much going hither
and thither. After two people have mourned together for a
765 while they separate, and each seeks a new partner with whom
576 to lament. When separating, the salutation of *kalmelpudithti* often takes place, and, as in general, it is the younger of each pair who bows down his head and raises each foot of the other so that it touches his forehead. It seemed to be the duty of everyone to salute certain of the older men in this way; and round these men there would be a continual coming and going, each person saluting by placing his head beneath the feet of the elder. At times the band of mourners would

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[1] More elaborate laments are given on pp. 385-8.

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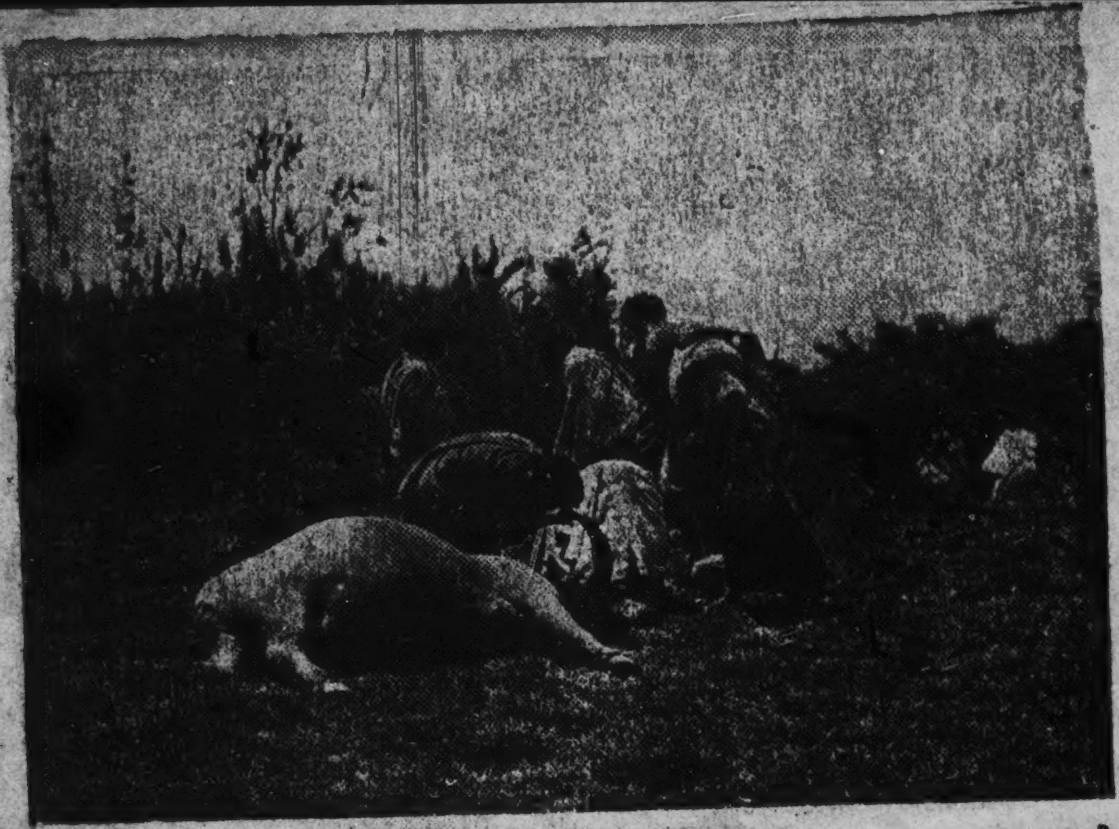

FIG. 54.—SALUTING THE DEAD BUFFALO.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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764 form a confused mass of struggling people, some crying
765 forehead to forehead, others saluting head to foot, while others
would be struggling through the mass to seek partners with
576 whom to mourn (Fig. 55).

THE CLOTH-GIVING CEREMONY

764 During or after the lamentation a ceremony is performed
602 which is known as *kachütthti*[1] (*kach*, cloth, *ütthti* or *üititi*, he
618

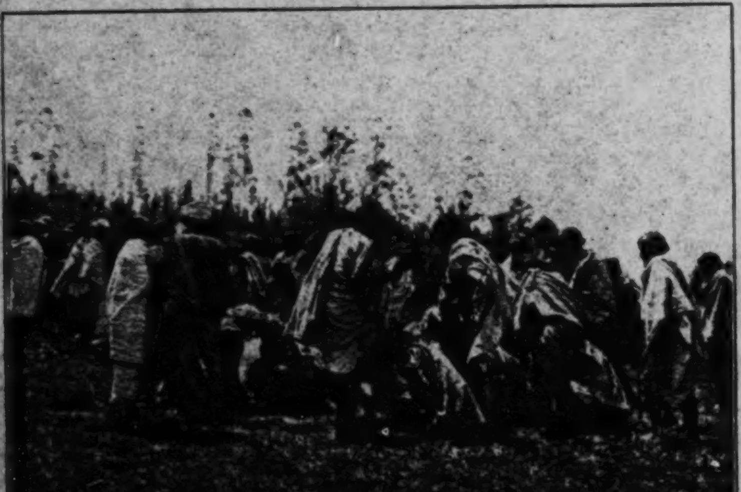

FIG. 55—THE MOURNERS ROUND THE BODY.

puts). The essential feature of this ceremony is that a cloth is given by a near relative of the dead person to those who have married into his family, and the cloth is placed on the dead body by the wives of those to whom it is given. This ceremony takes place at the funerals of both sexes and for members of all clans. It is an inconspicuous ceremony, and with one exception[2] has escaped the observation of all those who have previously witnessed and recorded the procedure of

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[1] This ceremony is also called *kachpaltchpimi*.

[2] Natesa Sastri, *Madras Mail*, Aug. 28th, 1894.

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618

Toda funerals. It takes place in the middle of a crowd, who gather round the corpse possibly while the lamentation is still going on or while other ceremonies are in progress. In the first funeral I witnessed the ceremony took place while dancing was going on, and I missed it entirely, though I was told afterwards that it had taken place as usual, and was able to obtain the names of the chief actors.

In the ceremony of *kachütthti*, a man belonging to the clan of the deceased gives a cloth to one of his *paiol*, or brothers-in-law. The latter gives the cloth to his wife or wife's sister, or to some woman whom he would be allowed to marry, and the woman places the cloth on the corpse. The man who originally gave the cloth then takes it from the body and gives it to another *paiol*, and the ceremony is repeated till the cloth has been given to all the *paiol* present.

The man who gives the cloth should belong to the same clan as the dead person. At the funeral of a male, the proper person is the father of the deceased, if he is alive, or some other elder of the clan. At the funeral of a woman, a man of the clan of the woman's husband is chosen. Thus, at the funeral of Kiuneimi (3 and 28), a widow of Kanòdrs, the cloth was given by Neratkutan (28), who was of the same family as the husbands of the dead woman and the eldest representative of their generation. At the funeral of Sinerani (52), the cloth was given by Tebkudr (68), who was the younger brother of the father of Keinba, the husband of the dead child.

The men called *paiol*, to whom the cloth is given, seem to include all those who have married women of the same clan as the giver of the cloth. Thus, at the funeral of Kiuneimi the cloth was given to Pepob ([illegible]4) of Melgars, and to Nelkush and Terò (3) of Nòdrs, who had all married women of Kanòdrs.

At the funeral of Sinerani, the cloth was given to Kuriolv (52), who was the father of the dead child, not, however, for this reason, but because he was the husband of Sintharap, Tebkudr's sister. At this funeral the only other man to whom the cloth was given was Piliag (52), who received it in the place of his brother, Piliar (52), who was not present. The latter, like Kuriolv, was the brother-in-law of Tebkudr (68).

764 If there is no *paiol* present the cloth may be given to a *matchuni*,[1]
602 and this may also happen even when *paiol* are present.
Thus at one funeral at which I was present, the *marvainol-*
618 *kedr* of Pursevan (53), the cloth was given by Piliar (52) to Teikudr (63), his *matchuni*. Piliar was the son of Mutevan and Teikudr was the son of Kavani, the sister of Mutevan.

If neither *paiol* nor *matchuni* be present, it was said that the cloth might be given to a brother, *i.e.*, a man of the same clan, but this probably never happens and the statement is possibly an error.

The man who receives the cloth hands it to his wife, if she is present; if she is not present, he may put it on the corpse himself, and I saw this done more than once. On one occasion a man gave it to a woman who was not his wife, but in this case he was acting as a substitute for the husband of the woman.

This ceremony is one in which a man of the same clan as the deceased person gives a cloth to a man who has married into his family. The latter hands on the cloth to his wife, who was, before her marriage, of the same clan as the giver of the cloth, and it is this woman who places the cloth on the dead body.

764 The father of each woman who places the cloth on the
767 body receives a fee of one rupee called *kachkars*, or cloth-
rupee, but the sum is not paid till the woman has attended
437 twenty funerals. An account is kept and twenty rupees are paid when the number is completed. The money is paid by the husband of the woman.

In the ceremony of *kachütthti*, the men who have married into the family of the dead person have to perform this ceremony and have to pay a fee to the family of the dead person. As we shall see later, the chief mourner at a funeral should receive a buffalo from each of his sons-in-law, and we see here that this tribute is supplemented by an addition to the account kept of the times the cloth is given. The cloth-
764 giving ceremony involves a payment to the family of the dead

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[1] The *matchuni* of a person is the child of his mother's brother, or of his father's sister (see Chapter XXI).

man of certain fees from those members of other clans who have married into the family. 764

The cloth used is a red loincloth of a kind which is never worn by the Todas, but, so far as I could ascertain, it is only an ordinary cloth procured in the bazaar.

THE CREMATION

After the *kachüttthṭi* ceremony the body is replaced on the wooden bier and borne to the *methkudi*, where the funeral pyre has been erected within the wood, usually at no great distance from the funeral hut.

The bier is laid by the side of the pyre, and the dead person is then supplied with the various necessaries for the other world. Many of the things are placed in the large pocket, or *kudsh*, between the two folds of the cloak in which the body is enclosed.

The things supplied are chiefly food, ornaments, and money. The food includes grain, rice, jaggery, limes, and honey. Some of the food is put directly into the *kudsh*, while some of the grain, rice, and honey are mixed together and put in a metal bowl. Tobacco, coconuts, ghi, or articles of food from the bazaar may be added.

A number of square boxes made of rattan and called [439] *pettei*[1] are also placed on the bier. They are procured from Mitur in the Wainad, and are often called *miturpettei* or *mitudpettei*. Jaggery and other things are put into each of the boxes, and they are covered with cloth, tied with thread, and adorned with cowries.

The ornaments placed on the corpse included rings for the fingers, armlets, necklaces, and earrings.

The money is collected from all present and put in rolls 764
into long purses, called *tinkani*. Most of the money used 436
for this occasion is old with Arabic inscriptions and is 177
known by the Todas as *irajikars*, the more recent coinage being called *englishkars*. In one collection of coins which

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[1] At the *marvainolkedr* (see p. 381) these boxes are only burnt at a woman's funeral, their place at a man's funeral being taken by bamboo vessels called *wuk*. This is probably also true of the *etvainolkedr*.

764 I was allowed to inspect many bore the date 1780, and
436 among the more recent coins were included two Japanese
177 yen. The rolls of coins are placed within the cloak, often near the feet of the dead person.

764 Meanwhile the pyre has been lighted. At the funeral of a man this must be done by means of fire made by
372 friction. I have not recorded whether the fire is made by any special relative of the deceased or other special person. At the funeral of a woman, the fire is started by means of a lighted rag which has been soaked in ghi. The rag is lighted by a man, who at present uses matches for the purpose. Though lighted by a man the fire is applied to the funeral pyre by a woman, usually of the same clan as the dead person. The pyre is lighted on the top, where small pieces of wood have been placed, and butter is poured on the fire which gradually spreads downwards. The progress of the fire is very slow, and at every funeral at which I was present the fire was far from strong when the body was placed upon it.

764 At the funeral of a male, imitation buffalo horns of wood (*tebkuter* or *petkuter*, see Fig. 35) are placed on the fire and
766 burnt. This was also done at the funeral of the girl Sinerani, but it seemed clear that this was unorthodox and was done by Kuriolv, the father of the dead girl, on account of his great sorrow at her death.

764 The body on the bier is now taken up and swung three
775 times over the fire, while a small wooden framework resembling a miniature bier is held under the larger bier. As the body is swung over the fire in this way the bearers say:—

"*Kedr*	*tüüth*	*tádr*	*mud*	*tirk*	*túkitth*	*táthi.*"
Funeral	fire	over	three	times	lifted	must.

These words seem to be connected with the small wooden framework held under the body, for this is called *tüüth tádr túkitth kúrs*, or "fire over lifted (or lifting) stick."

The bier is then replaced on the ground and nearly all the objects of value are removed from the bier or from the pocket of the cloak. In one case I observed that the bangles were taken from the arms, all the rings except one

were taken from the fingers, and the coins were removed 764
and redistributed to those who had given them. The people 775
told me that when the body was swung over the fire, the
dead person went to Amnòdr with all the ornaments and
objects then on the bier, and that the removal of the things
afterwards would not deprive the dead person of their use
in the next world.

It would seem as if this ceremony of swinging the body 178
over the fire was directly connected with the removal of the 764
objects of value. The swinging over the fire would be
symbolic of its destruction by fire, and this symbolic burning
has the great advantage that the objects of value are not
consumed and are available for use another time.

This is probably the real explanation of the ceremony, but it is not the explanation given by the Todas themselves. They say that long ago, about 400 years, a man supposed to be dead was put on the funeral pyre, and, revived by the heat, he was found to be alive and was able to walk away from the funeral place. In consequence of this the rule was made that the body shall always be swung three times over the fire before it is finally placed thereon. I could not discover the significance of the small wooden framework held under the body. Its appearance suggests that it is a miniature bier.

The objects of value having been removed, the body is 178
now burnt. Formerly it was put on the pyre face down- 764
wards, and in the accounts of funerals given by Marshall[1] and 775
Walhouse[2] thirty years ago, this was done, but it is no longer
the custom, and in recent funerals attended by Mr. Thurston
and myself the body was put on the fire with the face
upwards. I was told that Teikirzi ordained that the body
should be consumed face downwards, and it was believed that
if this were not done, the dead person would have to make [772]
the journey to Amnòdr backwards. This seems to imply
that the world of Amnòdr is below this world and that the
dead person should be burnt in such a way that his face is set
towards his future abode.

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[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 176.

[2] *Ind. Antiq.*, 1874, iii. 274.

177 764 [533] At some time during the day, Kotas will have arrived, some to act as musicians (Fig. 56), others to take the flesh of the slaughtered buffaloes. The musicians play on their instruments, which may include a clarionet, a drum, tambourine, and brass horn, though usually I saw only the clarionet and drum. The musicians become especially active while the body is consuming. The other Kotas, who carry sharp sticks on which to carry away the flesh, begin to cut up the buffaloes as soon as the people have left the neighbourhood of the funeral hut. On more than one occasion I noticed Tamil women sitting not far from the funeral scene, and was told that they had come to buy some of the flesh from the Kotas, and I believe that it is not unknown for the flesh to find its way to the bazaar at Ootacamund.

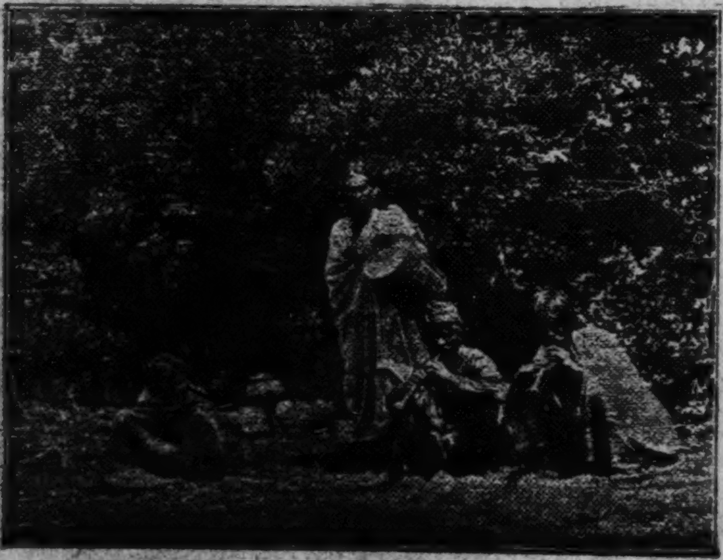

FIG. 56.—KOTAS PLAYING MUSIC AT A TODA FUNERAL.

764 765 Before the body is finally placed on the fire, a lock of hair is cut from the head to serve as one of the relics for the second funeral. It is cut by a near relative of the dead person; in the case of Sinerani, it was cut off by her boy-

husband. According to Breeks,[1] one of the nails should also 764
be removed, but I could not hear of this being done at the 765
present time, and similarly I heard nothing of the practice of keeping the knee-cap bone, which is said by Hough[2] to have been preserved. When the burning is over, a piece of the skull is sought from among the ashes, and this, together with the hair, is put within two pieces of bark and wrapped in a cloak to be kept for the *marvainolkedr*.

The remainder of the ashes are left on the burning-ground till they are dispersed by wind and rain.

SOME SPECIAL FUNERAL CEREMONIES

In the previous account certain ceremonies which may be performed by special individuals have been omitted. In general, at the funeral of a man, the part of chief mourner and director of the ceremonies is taken by a brother or son of the deceased. At the funeral of a woman the husband takes the chief place.

While the mourning is going on, a ceremony will have been performed if the dead person should be a man or woman whose spouse is still alive. The husband of a dead woman goes to one of his *paiol*, most commonly to his father-in-law, if he is living, and the *paiol* draws up the cloak of the widower so that it covers his head. The man who has his head covered in this way is called *mad ar mitch nidvai*, "head on covered who stands" (see Fig. 61). The widower keeps his head covered in this way as a sign of mourning and does not take off the cloak till the end of the second funeral. When the *paiol* has arranged the cloak of the mourner, the two men cry together with forehead to forehead.

Similarly the wife of a dead man has her cloak drawn over her head as a sign of mourning, and this is done for her by her own father or someone of his clan who takes his place. This ceremony is performed by a relative of the woman, whether it is husband or wife who is dead.

It is the duty of the widower or widow to mix the grain and honey which is put into a bowl on the bier.

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[1] P. 21.

[2] Letters on the Neilgherries, 1829, p. 81.

764 Other special ceremonies fall to the lot of the *mokhthodvaiol*
765 or *sedvaitazmokh* of the dead person if there should be such.
837 The *mokhthodvaiol* of a woman is the recognised lover whom she may have in addition to her husband or husbands. The *sedvaitazmokh* is the name of the woman in this Toda institution. The *mokhthodvaiol* of a dead woman goes to the funeral wearing his ring on the ring finger of the left hand. Before the buffalo is caught he pays the *kalmelpudithti* salutation to the father of the woman; bows down before him and raises each foot to his head. He then puts into the pocket of the cloak of the woman some limes, three handfuls (*mudteir*) of *patcherski* and one large piece of jaggery. He also puts a piece of the dark cloth called *än* into the pocket of the cloak, this act being called *än kudshk it pudithti.* The *mokhthodvaiol* asks the husband of the woman three times "*än kudsh idukina?*" ("Shall I put *än* into the *kudsh?*") and the husband answers each time "*idu!*" In putting the various things into the pocket, the *mokhthodvaiol* has to use his left hand throughout.

When a man dies his *sedvaitazmokh*, if there be one, goes to the funeral ceremony wearing a ring on the ring finger of her left hand, and similarly puts limes, grain, jaggery, and a piece of *än* into the pocket of the dead man's mantle. Before doing this the brothers of the dead man do *kalmelpudithti* to the father of the woman, and this was said to be done in order to obtain permission from him for his daughter to put things into the cloak.

766 At the funeral of a girl, or of a childless woman, there are performed the ceremonies of *urvatpimi* and *pursütpimi* which are usually performed during pregnancy. In life the *urvatpimi*, or hand-burning ceremony, is performed before that of *pursütpimi*, but after death the order may be reversed. These ceremonies are most frequently performed at the funerals of children, and a full description may be reserved till a later section (see p. 391).

In the case of an adult the ceremony is only performed if it has not been performed in life. If a woman dies in the later months of pregnancy after these ceremonies have taken place, they would not be performed at the funeral.

765 they must leave it and live elsewhere till the second funeral is over.

[196] The term *kedr* is not only applied to the relics of the dead person, but also to the period between the two funerals, or rather the people say, "There is *kedr* in his family," or "So and so, or such and such a clan, has *kedr*," so that the same word is used for the funeral, for the body of a dead person, for the relics, and for the condition of persons or clans while funeral ceremonies are uncompleted.

764 783 All those who go near the corpse at a Teivali funeral become *ichchiloivichi*, usually abbreviated to *ichchil*, and the same is true of anyone who goes to a Teivali village where the relics are being kept. The whole family in which the death has occurred is spoken of as being *ichchil*. If anyone wishes to attend a funeral and yet avoid becoming *ichchil*, he must sit at some distance and take no part in the funeral proceedings. At several funerals I have seen people sitting apart from the rest in order that they might not incur the disabilities associated with the condition of *ichchil*, the chief of which is that it is forbidden to approach or salute a *palol*.

A person who has incurred *ichchil* remains so till the next new moon. Those in the family of the dead person remain *ichchil* till the new moon after the *marvainolkedr*, owing to the fact that between the two funerals they probably either live at or visit the village where the relics are kept.

The condition of *ichchil* arising from attendance at a funeral is regarded as of the same nature as that incurred by a visit to the seclusion-hut after childbirth.

764 783 616 618 Both Teivaliol and Tartharol may become *ichchil* at a funeral of one of the Teivaliol, but there is no *ichchil* due to attendance at a Tarthar funeral. All those who throw earth at a Tarthar funeral, however, are called *pushut*, and incur the same disability as those who are *ichchil*—*i.e.*, they may not approach or salute a *palol*.

Melgars people incur the same disabilities as other Tartharol, and it is probably for them that the restrictions are of most importance, for they lose their special privileges as *mörol* while they are in the condition of *ichchil* or *pushut*.

765 During the condition called '*kedr*,' all the men of the

765 When a man crosses the Paikara or Avalanche rivers he must usually do so *kevenarut*, with his right arm outside his mantle, but if he has the mantle over his head as a sign of mourning he merely protrudes his right hand, so that it can be seen below the mantle. Similarly, the throwing of water done by *matchuni* (see p. 501), when they cross these rivers on certain days, is not done by people of a family in which there has been a death—*i.e.*, not between the two funerals—but they only chew the grass, which is the preliminary act of the ceremony.

[769] The mourner who has his head covered has certain restrictions in regard to his food. A widower is not allowed to eat rice nor drink milk, and on every return of the day of the week on which his wife died he takes no food in the morning and only has his evening meal. The same holds good for a widow. This fasting on each weekly return of the day of death suggests that some rite is, or used to be, performed on this day, but I did not obtain an account of any such ceremony. The day of the week on which a man dies is always observed by his children, and is called *arpatsnol*.

234 The *wursol* who attends to kill the sacred buffalo loses his
764 office by so doing, and becomes a *perol*. Similarly, if a *palol*,
wursol, or *kaltmokh* wish to attend the funeral of a relative, he
793 can only do so by giving up his office, and this is a common
cause of change in the various dairies. The dairyman who
has thus given up his office often resumes it when the funeral
ceremonies are completed, and if he expresses his intention
of returning, the temporary occupant is often said to be
doing the work for the other.

765 Between the two funerals it is the duty of every Toda who was not present at the *etvainolkedr* to salute the remains. When anyone visits the village where the remains are kept for this purpose the cloth containing the relics is brought out and the visitor bows down and touches the cloth with his forehead, just as is done with the body at the funeral. When I visited the village at which the *kedr* of Olidjeimi was being kept my Toda guide took the opportunity of performing his duty to the remains, and I was able to witness the reverent way in which the duty is performed. While I was on the

marriage, like Sinerani, one of the Kuudrol. Silkidz also 766
lighted the pyre. 588

In spite of the results of his previous infringement of funeral law, Kuriolv made a further departure from orthodox custom in burning on the pyre imitation buffalo horns, which should only be burnt at the funerals of males. Then after being swung over the flames as usual, the body was placed on the pyre.

Less than half an hour later, and long before the body could have been consumed, the *marvainolkedr* began, and passed off without any special incident. Another buffalo was caught and killed and laid by the side of a mantle containing hair which had been cut from the head of the dead child by Keinba. The mantle should also have contained a piece of skull, but the body had not been sufficiently consumed to procure this, and so the hair alone was held to be sufficient.

Later a distribution of grain took place, and those who were to take no part in the *asaramkedr* on the following morning went to their homes.

At another funeral of an unmarried girl, Olidzeimi (21), the ceremony of *pursütpimi* was performed by the boy Pulgudr (38), who had been married in infancy to the girl. He was her *matchuni*, being the son of Teijer, the sister of Parkeidi, Olidzeimi's father. On this occasion Pulgudr said to his father-in-law, Parkeidi, three times, "*pursadikina?*"—"Shall I touch (with the) bow?" and Parkeidi replied each time, "*Pursad!*"—"Touch with the bow!" Then Pulgudr put the bow and arrow into the hand of the dead girl, and Parkeidi covered Pulgudr's head with the cloak, and the boy put grain, jaggery, and limes into the pocket of the cloak of Olidzeimi. At the funeral of Sinerani, Keinba did not say the proper formula, probably because he was too young.

FUNERAL CONTRIBUTIONS

In the old days, when a large number of buffaloes were 764
slaughtered at the funerals, and especially at the *marvainolkedr*, 431
it was the rule that every *manmokh*, or sister's son, should 602

764 supply a buffalo, while in the case of a child it seemed that 431 buffaloes were sometimes given by the *mun*, or mother's brother.

602 Buffaloes were also given by the husbands of the daughters of a man, whether they were the *manmokh* of the man or not. They might be given by other relatives, but it seemed that the gift was especially a duty of the *manmokh* and *paiol*. The *mokhthodvaiol* of a woman should also contribute a buffalo for her second funeral.

At the present time the limitation of the number of buffaloes which may be slaughtered has removed the necessity for these gifts, but it still remains the custom for one of the buffaloes to be supplied by the *manmokh* or some corresponding relative, or, at any rate, it seems to be usual for one buffalo to be supplied by relatives of a man on the male side, and the other by relatives on the female side; thus, at the funeral of Sinerani (52) one buffalo was given by Kuriolv, the father of the dead child, and the other by Perner (68), the father of the child's mother, and also the grandfather of her husband.

Contributions in money may be made by any relative, and all those who have married into the family of the deceased, even if only boys, should contribute eight annas or a rupee towards the general expenses, this custom being called *tinkanik panm ütpimi*. The *mokhthodvaiol* of a woman should contribute at least five rupees to the expenses of the second funeral.

The ceremony of *kachütthti* (see p. 358) also involves a payment from his sons-in-law to a man of the same clan as the dead man. The money is not paid, however, till the woman who places the cloths on the body has attended twenty funerals and is, therefore, probably not paid at all in many cases, but it may be regarded as tribute from those who have married into a family at each death in the family.

The contributions of buffaloes and money from a man to the relatives of his wife are called *pödri*.

Contributions of food are received from various relatives, who also contribute certain of the objects used for the

adornment of the body. Each relative gives a waist- 764
string called *pennar*, made of black and white thread, which 431
is put round the body of the corpse. That given by a
manmokh is exceptionally honoured in that it is tied round 602
the body inside the mantle together with that given by the son of the deceased, those given by other relatives being put outside the mantle.

Many of the necessaries for the funerals are provided by the 177
Kotas. The part they take as the musicians has been already 764
mentioned. In addition they provide for the first funeral the cloak (*putkuli*) in which the body is wrapped, and grain (*patm* or *samai*) to the amount of five to ten *kwa*. They give one or two rupees towards the expenses, and if they should have no grain their contribution of money is increased.

At the *marvainolkedr* their contributions are more extensive. They provide the *putkuli*, together with a sum of eight annas for the decoration of the cloak by the Toda women. They give two to five rupees towards the general expenses and provide the bow and arrow, basket (*tek*), knife (*kafkati*), and the sieve called *kudshmurn*. The Kotas receive at each funeral the bodies of the slaughtered buffaloes, and are also usually given food. The method by which these contributions from the Kotas to the Todas are regulated will be considered in Chapter XXVII.

AMNÒDR

Amnòdr[1] is the other world of the Todas to which the dead 772
go. It lies to the west and is lighted by the same sun as this 775
world. The sun goes there when it sinks to the west so that when it is dark on the Nilgiris it is light in Amnòdr, and when it is dark in Amnòdr it is light on the Nilgiris. When Kwoto tied down the sun it was dark in both worlds and the people of Amnòdr complained (see p. 206) and joined with those of this world in the request that the sun should be restored to its proper place. Amnòdr is considered to be below this world,

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[1] This may possibly be the world of Yama, the Todas rarely, if ever, using the letter y. The word was often pronounced Amnodr.

775 and they run no danger from this source, however bad they may have been.

The people of Taradr are said to have a separate Amnòdr near Külvari or Perithi, and they do not travel by Nidzmûtkârs or by Panlpikârs, nor do they cross Püvûrkin. They have no dangers by the way, and however wicked they may have been they go to their Amnòdr in security. Men, women and buffaloes all follow the same path.

ORIGIN OF FUNERAL CUSTOMS

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763 The various funeral customs are said to have been partly ordained by Teikirzi. The following story is given as the account of their origin :—

At first no Toda died. After a time a Piedr man died at the village of Erparskòdr. He died in his hut and the Todas took his body to the funeral place, but on the way they laid it by a heap of stones between Erparskòdr and Umgas. The stones are still to be seen, and are called Möditikars.[1] While the body lay by these stones, some of the people were weeping bitterly; others were dancing and singing, and others were going to drive buffaloes. Teikirzi, who saw the people weeping, took pity and came to bring the dead man back to life. When she came to the place she found that though some of the people were crying, others seemed quite happy. She liked what she saw, and decided not to raise the dead man, so she went away and ordained that in the future some should cry at funerals and others should be happy, and her laws as to the conduct of the funeral ceremonies have been followed ever since.

Then the people took up the dead body and went on to Kûrâvòrs, near Umgas, where they performed the funeral ceremonies.

764 In the various complicated ceremonies described in this chapter there are certain features which may be briefly discussed.

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192 [1] *Möditi* is the name applied to all the women of other tribes. It is perhaps suggestive that this name should be used for a stone connected with the goddess Teikirzi.

There is no doubt that the buffaloes killed at the funeral 764
are supposed to go to Amnòdr with the dead person. Sacred 234
buffaloes are only killed at the funerals of men, for they 782
would be useless to women, who, in the next world as in this, 775
have nothing to do with dairies at which the sacred buffaloes must be tended. There is no evidence that the slaughter of buffaloes is in any way a propitiatory sacrifice, and there seems to be a very marked absence of anything resembling prayer or other forms of appeal to higher powers in the funeral ceremonies.[1]

Dairymen take part in the funeral ceremonies, but chiefly 764
in connexion with the sacred buffaloes. The highest kind 234
of dairyman, the *palol*, has no duties whatever, and loses his 793
office if he takes part merely as a visitor. At Tarthar funerals 778
the *wursol* has important duties, chiefly connected with the sacred buffaloes and with the *mani*, which is hung round their necks. He also takes the chief part in the *kòtiti* and accompanying ceremonies of the second funeral, probably because the sacred *tudr* bark is used. In one rite there is no obvious reason why the *wursol* should play a part—viz., in that of throwing earth. As this ceremony, however, is of especial importance, it suggests that formerly dairymen may have had more to do with funeral ceremonies than is the case at present.

Among the Teivaliol, the *palikartmokh* has less important functions. He probably kills the sacred buffaloes, though on this point I am not certain. Only one Teivali clan possesses a *mani* which is used at a funeral, and it is noteworthy that, though the bell is removed from its hiding place (see p. 354) by the *palikartmokh*, it is taken to the funeral and hung on the neck of the buffalo by a Tarthar man belonging to the Nòdrs clan.

The facts that the *wursol* takes part in the funerals of 764
men; that sacred buffaloes are killed; that dairies are used 234
in these funerals, and that the funeral hut of a man is always 793

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[1] Several of those who have witnessed Toda funerals have noticed that barren buffaloes are killed on these occasions, and I believe that it is a recognised custom to use such animals. Piùvan's funeral lament begins with a reference to barren buffaloes, and the clause, "in the midst of barren buffaloes you went," evidently refers to Piùvan's skill in catching buffaloes at the funeral ceremonies.

D D

764 234 793 called *pali* or dairy, even when built for the occasion, all bring the funeral ceremonies of men into connexion with the religious dairy ceremonial of the Todas. On the other hand, even in those cases in which a dairy is used as a funeral hut, the dairyman of that dairy has nothing to do with the funeral ceremonies; thus, at Nòdrs the dairy in which the body of a dead man is laid is the *tarvali*, but the *tarvalikartmokh* has no duties in connexion with the funeral, and does his dairy work as usual, while it is the dairyman of the conical *poh*, the *wursol*, who takes an active part in the funeral rites.

764 171 174 The earth-throwing ceremony is of especial interest, because it would seem to be a relic of burial. Earth is thrown three times on the corpse before it is burnt. In connexion with the idea that the ceremony is a relic of a previous stage, in which the Todas buried their dead, it may be mentioned that a ceremony with some points of similarity is performed at the funerals of the Hill Arrians of the Western Ghats,[1] who bury their dead. A man of the same clan as the deceased takes a new cloth and tears from it a narrow strip which he fastens upon himself. He then goes backwards to the place fixed for the grave and digs with a hoe, removing three hoes full of earth. In this ceremony he is said to be calling on the earth to give up six feet for the dead. There is a suggestive resemblance between the ceremonies performed by these two hill tribes of South-west India, which lends some support to the view that the earth-throwing ceremony of the Todas is a relic of inhumation.

It perhaps may be regarded as a fact inconsistent with this view that the earth-throwing ceremony is performed at both funerals, and again the throwing of earth into a buffalo pen is so essential a feature that it is possible the whole ceremony may have some other meaning.

764 174 It is tempting to extend the conjecture by supposing that the dead were at one time buried in the *tu* or buffalo pen, but there is, as far as I know, no evidence that this was ever done by the Todas or by any other Indian tribe. Unless, indeed, the *azaram* is the representative of a *tu*, in which case the burial of the ashes at the entrance of the *azaram* may be

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[1] See Fawcett, *Journ. Anthrop. Soc. Bombay*, 1890, vol. ii., p. 146.

a survival of a time when the body was buried at the entrance 764
of a pen. 174

The custom of burning the hut at a woman's funeral is probably a survival of the common custom of burning the house of a dead person, but it is possible that in the case of the Todas this may have been associated with the belief that the hut would be useful in the next world. The funeral hut of a man is not burnt, and this is almost certainly because it is, or represents, a dairy. The motive for the burning of the house of a dead person is probably to remove a place which the ghost may haunt, and the sanctity of the dairy was probably such as to render this precaution unnecessary after the death of a man.

The Toda custom of cremating their dead is accompanied 764
by a belief that the dead go to a distant spirit-world. It 775
seems quite certain that the Todas believe that the dead
do not set out on their journey to the next world till after 765
the second funeral ceremonies, but I am not at all clear what 783
is supposed to become of the spirits of the dead in the interval between the two ceremonies. The spirit of a Melgars man during the interval is said to be a *kasan* or malignant spirit, but I was unable to obtain a full account of the Toda belief about the *kasan*, nor was I able to find out whether there is any belief in the malignity of the spirits of the dead of other clans.[1] That such spirits are impure is, I think, shown conclusively by the impurity of the relics of the dead and of all those who have been in contact with them. The intense objection to the sacred *ti* buffaloes or their guardians coming into relation, however indirectly, with the relics is evidence of the belief in the impurity, if not in the malignity, of the spirits of the dead between the two funeral ceremonies.

There is one rite which seems to point to the influence 765
of the spirits of the dead on the living, and this is the 775
obscure ceremony of *terzamptpimi*, which is performed on the day after the *marvainolkedr* of a Tarthar man (see p. 333). The ceremony consists in cutting a lock of hair from a young child. One obvious explanation would be

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[1] In Teitnir's lament for Piliovan (see p. 387) he speaks of a Kars *kasan*, which suggests that each clan has its own *kasan*.

527 Soon after Ködrner fell ill and one of the buffaloes died, and
769 the *teuol* found that the desecration of the *arpatsnol* was one of
787 the causes, though they had also bought things on a Monday,
the *madnol* of Kars.

527 There is much variety in the days appointed as the *madnol* or *palinol* of different villages and clans. My records are very incomplete, but they show the most frequent days to be Wednesday and Friday, which are sacred in six clans. Sunday is sacred in five clans, Monday and Tuesday in three, and Thursday in two, while in no clan, so far as my records go, is Saturday a holy day.

527 It will have been noticed that funeral ceremonies may
not be held on a *madnol*, and it seems to be exceptional that
764 funeral ceremonies should take place on one of the dairy days.
796 There is very little doubt that it is the prohibition of funerals on village and dairy days which chiefly determines the choice of funeral days. Thus, at Nidrsi, Wednesday is the *madnol*, Monday is the *warsulinol*, Friday is the *tarvalinol*, while the funeral of a male is held on Saturday or Sunday and that of a female on Tuesday or Thursday. Similarly, the village and dairy days of Melgars are Monday and Friday, while the funeral days for males are Sunday and Tuesday, for females Thursday and Saturday. At Kwödrdoni, the village and dairy days are Wednesday, Friday, and Sunday, the funeral days Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday.

In a few cases, it would seem that funerals may be held on dairy days; thus, at Kars Monday is the *madnol*, Tuesday the *warsulinol*, and Thursday the *kudrpalinol*, while the funeral days for males are Sundays and Tuesdays, for females Thursdays and Saturdays. If a *mani* is used, however, a male funeral must be held on Sunday, and I suspect that the holding of a male funeral on Tuesday is an innovation, and probably the same holds good for the choice of Thursday as a funeral day for females.

The funeral rites are not the only ceremonies which have their appointed days. Nearly every ceremonial occasion among the Todas has its prescribed day, and of these ceremonial days Sunday seems to occupy an especially favoured position. As many ceremonies are appointed for this day as

for nearly all the other days of the week put together. It is 527
also the most frequent day for the funerals of males, and it 764
seemed to me that whenever it was possible this day was 796
chosen.

Several clans, however, have Sunday as the *madnol*, and if 527
the laws of this day are observed ceremonies of which feasts
form a part could not be performed on this day in these clans ; 796
thus, though I have no definite information on the point, I 621
have no doubt that the *irpalvusthi* ceremony could not be 618
performed.

It so happens that the clans which have Sunday as their *madnol* or *palinol* are Pan, Kanòdrs, Päm, Kwòdrdoni, and Pedrkars, all clans seated in outlying parts of the hills about which my information is less complete than in other cases. None of the larger and more important central clans about whose customs I obtained the fullest information had either *madnol* or *palinol* on a Sunday, and I have very little doubt that in those clans which have Sunday as a *madnol*, ceremonies, at any rate of a festive nature, would not be performed on this day. There is little doubt that the great prominence of Sunday as a feast day would have come out less strongly if my information about the outlying clans had been more complete.

I must leave this point uncertain, but I have little doubt that with fuller information about the customs of different clans we should find that the choice of days for ceremonies is chiefly, if not entirely, determined by the necessity of holding these on some day other than the *madnol* or *palinol*.

At the same time, there can be no doubt that Sunday is one of the days appointed for a festival or ceremony very frequently, and this is especially the case at the *ti*, the procedure of which is to a large extent uninfluenced by considerations concerned with the *madnol* and *palinol*. Even here, however, these days are not altogether without influence, for certain ceremonial days at the *ti* are feast days for the clan to which the *ti* belongs, and this would make it necessary that the ceremonies should not be held on the *madnol* of the clan. Certain days were said to be feast-days throughout the whole Toda community, but I have no knowledge as to how these

The regulation of salutation by kinship applies also to
764 the salutation of the dead. When the body first reaches
602 the funeral place it is saluted by all present, and in the
case of kin, the mode of salutation varies with the bond of
601 kinship. Those related to the deceased as *in*, *av*, *pian*, *piav*, *mun*, *mumi*, *an*, or *akkan*, bow down at the head of the corpse and touch the body with their foreheads, while all those whom the deceased would have called *enda* or *ena* bow down at the feet. The place saluted by those who are not kin is determined by age, but in the case of kin, the bond of kinship is more important than the age, so that the former condition determines the mode of salutation. Thus at the funeral of Kiuneimi (3), Kòdrner (7) saluted at the head of the dead woman. He was the younger, but was her *mun* owing to the fact that Kiuneimi's step-mother Kureimi, was a Kars woman whom Kòdrner called sister.

THE DUTIES OF KIN

602 The funeral ceremonies provide the greatest number of
764 examples of kinship duties, the parts taken by many of the mourners being determined largely by their bonds of kinship to the deceased. The place of chief mourner is taken by the brother or son of a dead man, by the husband of a dead woman, and by the father of a dead child, though, at the funeral of a girl, the husband plays the most important *rôle*.

Various duties fall to relatives of the same clan or of the same family of the clan. The earth-throwing at the funeral of a male, the smearing of butter on the buffalo, lighting the pyre at the first funeral and the two fires at the *azaramkedr*, and ringing the bell at the final scene, are all performed by near relatives of the same clan and family as the deceased.

Cutting off a lock of hair and mixing food are acts performed by the chief mourner, who is of the same clan as the deceased, whether brother, son, husband, or father.

The *manmokh*, or sister's son (who may be also son-in-law), has certain definite duties. Formerly, when many buffaloes were killed, one was always given by the sister's son, and he still gives a thread cord, called *pennar*. Many other relatives give these cords, but that given by the *manmokh* is especially

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

honoured in that it is put round the body of the dead man inside his cloak, and not merely laid on the covering of the body as are the others.

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The *mun* does not appear to have any duties at a funeral, though in old days he contributed a buffalo, and, at the present time, one of the two buffaloes slaughtered may be given by the *mun* or other representative of the mother's family.

The *matchuni* (child of a maternal uncle or of a paternal aunt) has several duties, of which the most important are those at the *irsaŋkati* ceremony of the *asaramkedr*. The other duties are the secondary result of the marriage regulation which makes the *matchuni* the natural bridegroom or bride, and, in consequence, it is the *matchuni* who performs the *pursütpimi* ceremony at the funeral of an unmarried girl. Similarly, the *matchuni* may take the place of a *paiol* at the cloth-giving ceremony.

The duties which have, however, the greatest social interest are those performed by the relatives by marriage. At the funeral of a woman certain ceremonies, such as that in which leaves of the *tiveri* plant are put in the dead woman's armlet, the *urvatpimi* ceremony for an unmarried girl, rubbing the relics, lighting the fire at the *asaramkedr*, and burning the funeral hut, should be performed by the daughter-in-law of a woman or the mother-in-law of a girl. These relatives are, however, of the same clan as the deceased, owing to the fact that a woman becomes a member of the same clan as her husband; and I am therefore doubtful how far these relatives perform the duties in question as members of the same clan, and how far as relatives by marriage. Some of the duties, such as lighting the funeral fires, are done by men of the same clan at the funeral of men; and I am therefore inclined to believe that they are performed by a woman for this reason and not because she is mother-in-law or daughter-in-law, but this point is one which must remain indefinite with our present information.

Similarly the duty of covering the head is a little difficult to understand. The head of a widower is covered (see p. 365) by one of his *paiol*—his father-in-law or his brother-in-law—and in this case it is clearly a duty which falls to a relative by

602 marriage, but the head of a widow is covered by her own
764 father or by someone of his clan who takes his place. The plausible explanation appears to be that the covering is performed by the father of the woman, not as father of the widow, but as father-in-law of the dead man.

Those who have married into the family of the deceased, the *paiol*, have to make certain contributions towards the outlay for the funeral, and it is in connexion with one of these contributions that the interesting ceremony of cloth-giving occurs.

The essential feature of the ceremony seems to be that a cloth passes between a relative or representative of the dead person and those who have married into the family of the dead person, and the ceremony involves a money payment to the family of the dead person from those who have married into the family. The ceremony is one which links the funeral ceremonies to those of marriage.

602 In other ceremonies of the Todas the parts played by
604 different kin are far less conspicuous. The *mun* or mother's brother has, however, several important functions. To him falls the duty of naming a child, on which occasion he has also to give a calf. He takes the chief part in the *tersamptpimi* ceremony, in which he cuts the hair of the child with a special ritual. In the ear-piercing ceremony the maternal uncle pierces one ear, and in the special case of which I have a record, he gave two buffaloes towards the expenses attendant on the ceremony.

553 It is probable that a girl is named by her *mumi*, or father's sister, but this is a point on which I am not quite sure.

602 Under certain conditions *matchuni*, when associated
605 together, have to perform certain ceremonial acts. When two male *matchuni* eat rice and milk together, they must first ask each other, "*pa tòr tinkina?*" "Milk food shall I eat?" and if they eat honey together, they must say "*tein tinkina?*" Two female *matchuni* eating together must also use these formulæ, but they are not said when a man is eating in company with his female *matchuni*, though possibly the two would never actually eat at the same time.

Male *matchuni* have also to go through a ceremony when

588 616 837 A few days later the two husbands and the *mokhthodvaiol* went to the woman's father and brothers (called collectively *paiol*), and the *mokhthodvaiol* promised that he would give the woman either a *keivali* (necklace) or a *sin* (gold earrings), each worth about thirty rupees. [A poorer man might only give a *pulthi* (bracelet), worth about twelve rupees]. He also promised that he would give a three-year-old buffalo to the son of the woman, this being called *mokh ir kwadrti*, *i.e.*, "son buffalo he gives." After making these promises, the *mokhthodvaiol* performed the salutation of *kalmelpudithti* to all the *paiol*, *i.e.*, he bowed down before each, and placed his head beneath their feet.

[601] As we have seen earlier, not only are the relatives of the *sedvaitazmokh* called *paiol*, the term in use for the relatives of a real wife, but the father of the woman is called *mun* and her mother *muni*, names which are also terms of blood-relationship.

[764] When a man or woman dies, the *mokhthodvaiol* of the woman and the *sedvaitazmokh* of the man have definitely assigned duties at the funeral ceremonies. Each wears a ring on the ring finger of the left hand and has to put various things with the left hand into the pocket of the *putkuli* of the dead person.[1]

[114] The *mokkthoditi* institution was first described by Ward in 1821,[2] the man being called by Ward the *coombhal* (the *kumbliol*, cloak or blanket man). This is the Badaga name, and it has usually been adopted by those who have since referred to the institution.

[773] The custom is said to have originated with the god Kulinkars, who was the *mokhthodvaiol* of the goddess Nòtirzi, but I could obtain no details of the way in which the custom is supposed to have arisen.

588 837 The ceremonial connected with the process of becoming a *mokhthodvaiol* is very much like that of the real marriage. A garment is given or promised and the salutation of *kalmelpudithti* is paid to the woman's relatives. The chief difference is that the gifts are more numerous

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[1] For a full account see p. 366.

[2] Grigg's *Nilgiri Manual*, Appendix, p. lxxiv.

153 In my psychological tests it certainly seemed to me the general intelligence of the women was very much lower than that of the men. Some of the younger women were as acute and intelligent as the men, but the older women seemed to me hopelessly stupid. They did not try to give their minds to the tasks I set them with anything approaching the keenness and interest shown by the men, and again and again I failed to obtain results of any value in tests which men understood readily.

[155] It seems probable that the intelligence of the two sexes is not appreciably different in youth, but that the social life of the women does nothing to develop this intelligence and everything to force its exercise into the narrowest channels.

[182] It might, I think, be expected that polyandry would be associated with a subordinate position of woman, and there can be no doubt that the Todas show the association of the two conditions.

618 764 When a woman marries she becomes of the same clan as her husband, and this is a matter of some importance in connexion with religious and social ceremonial. Thus, in the funeral ceremonies of a woman, the choice of appropriate day and place, of the people who are to take part in the funeral rites and other features of the ceremonial are determined, not by the clan of the woman's father, but by that of her husband, and this even when the marriage itself forms part of the funeral ceremonies.

[591] 618 766 While I was on the hills, the widow, Kiuneimi (3), who had been living with her father at Nòdrs, died. Her husbands had belonged to Kanòdrs, and as a member of this clan she should have been taken to its burning-ground. This was, however, so far from Nòdrs that it was decided not to go there, but to hold the funeral ceremonies near the place where she had died. The proper funeral place for Nòdrs women could not, however, be used, for she belonged to another clan, and the body was therefore taken to a village which was not a true funeral place, and so no laws were infringed.

The funeral of Sinerani (p. 391) is an excellent example which shows how all the details of a funeral ceremony are

I: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

764 The pounder, sieve, and broom are burnt at the funerals of
775 women, who use the pounder on their journey to the other
world. A special kind of sieve called *kudshmarn* is also
burnt at the *azaramkedr*, but I believe that this is burnt at
all funerals, both of males and females.

171 The pounder, sieve, and broom are widely endowed with
magical properties, and this is especially the case in India,[1]
778 but I do not know of any other instance in which they are
especially regarded as the emblems of woman.

WEAPONS

411 At the present time it cannot be said that the Todas use
796 any weapons, but they retain in their ceremonies weapons
which were, no doubt, formerly in use. These are the club
764 and the bow and arrow.

178 The club only remains in the funeral ceremonies, in which it is called *naumakud* (see Fig. 67), and is burnt at the *azaramkedr*, and several other special sticks are also burnt, which may have been of the nature of clubs.

[177] The bow and arrow have left more traces of their former
importance. They are burnt at the *azaramkedr* of a man,
and the weapons for this purpose are provided by the Kotas.
The bow and arrow are also used in the *kodtiti* ceremony of
411 a Tarthar funeral. In the *pursütpimi* ceremony the husband
gives an imitation bow and arrow to his wife. The bow gives
796 its name to the ceremony and its gift forms the essential
incident of the ceremony. Further, the bow has a special
name different for each clan. The use of an arrow lingers in
name in other ceremonies. In the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony,
the knife used for cutting up the sacrificed calf is called *ab*, or
arrow. In the ceremony of *tersamptpimi* a lock of hair is cut
from a young child with a piece of sharpened iron called
kanab, or "eye arrow," but this name is only in use among the
411 Tartharol. The use of these words seems to point to a time
when iron-tipped arrows were used as cutting instruments,
174 and it is even possible that this is a survival of a time when
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[1] See Crooke's *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, 1896, vol. ii. pp. 187-191.

177 buffaloes) from a Badaga by doing so. Bets of this kind are
525 probably only made with Badagas, and betting is almost
certainly not properly a Toda custom.

In addition to developed games, the Todas, and especially
524 the children, often play with mimic representations of objects
857 from practical life. Near the villages I have seen small
artificial buffalo-pens and fireplaces made by the children in
sport. On the hill of Mirson, where the chief council used to
be held, I found a small pen, well built and with a gate, and
was assured that it was made in sport by the children only a
few years ago. This hill is one on which there are many
cairns and such mimic representations may possibly mystify
some future archæologist.

524 The commonest toys with which the children play are little
764 imitation buffalo horns made of wood (see Fig. 35). In the
legend, the boy Kuzkarv played with such horns, and even
517 little children in arms may be seen fondling these playthings.
The horns are burnt with the body at the funeral
ceremonies, but only at those of males, though this rule was
infringed at the funeral of Sinerani. In the funeral lament
for his wife Teitnir speaks of their playing with imitation
horns and imitation bracelets, so that adults evidently amuse
themselves in this way as well as children.

526 Another imitation sport I have often seen is that of boys
857 or youths hanging on the horns and round the necks of
buffaloes exactly as is done when catching the animals at the
funeral ceremonies. The skill shown at these ceremonies
is probably the result of long practice in play of this kind.

Nearly all these games are connected in some way with the
buffalo or the dairy, in some cases only remotely, as when
the *menkars* of Nòdrs is used for the *narthpimi* game,
while the *tukitthkars* may be kept by the dairy. Only one
of the games so far described is wholly unconnected with
the dairy, and this, the *eln* game, has a name which suggests
that it has been borrowed.

517 Though the Todas have, as we see, a fair number of
games, they are not much given to playing them. I never
saw one of the more developed games in progress, and this
formed a great contrast to my previous ethnological experience

Kurguli (B. Padagula or Kuruvoje), near the Badaga village 101
of Sholur. 177

In the Mekanad district :—

Kalmal (B. Kolamala or Kollimalai), not far from Kateri. 437

In the Peranganad district :—

Meilkukal (B. Melkotagiri or Perangada) in Kotagiri, one of the three chief European stations on the hills. Kikukal (B. Kilkotagiri or Kinnada), north-east of Kotagiri.

In the Kundanad district :—

Medrkukal (B. Menada).

The seventh is Kulgadi (B. Kalagasa) at Gudalur in the Wainad.

The village of Tizgudr is connected with the Toda clans of Kars, Melgars, Kanòdrs, and sometimes with the people of Kulhem. Kurguli supplies the clans of Nòdrs, Taradr, Kuudr, Piedr, and Kusharf, and occasionally Kulhem. Kalmal supplies Keradr, Nidrsi, Päm, Kidmad, and Keadr. Meilkukal and Kikukal are both connected with Kwòdrdoni and Pedrkars, and Medrkukal is the Kota village of the Panol. Kulgadi is connected only with the village of Kavidi, near Gudalur, which belongs to the Piedrol. When there were several Toda villages in the Wainad, it probably served them all.

The connexion between clans and villages seems to depend almost wholly on geographical distribution. The clans are supplied by the Kota villages which are nearest to their headquarters. An outlying village such as Kavidi has not the same Kota village as the rest of its clan. The Kidmadol, who are a branch of the Melgarsol, have not the same Kota village as the parent stock; but, on the other hand, the Panol, who now live chiefly among other Todas near Governor Shola, are still connected with the Kundah Kotas.

Each Kota village is responsible for the supply of the clan 177
or clans with which it is connected. Its inhabitants make the 437
various utensils used in the household and in the less sacred 764
dairy work of the Todas. At the funeral of any member of a clan with which they are connected, they provide the music and the following objects :—

At the *etvainolkedr*, a cloak in which the corpse is wrapped,

177 five to ten measures (*kwa*) of the grain called *patm* (*samai*),
437 and one or two rupees. If the Kotas do not possess the
764 grain, they may give another one or two rupees in its stead.

At the *marvainolkedr*, they supply a cloak; eight annas to pay for the embroidery of the cloak, which is done by the Toda women; two to five rupees towards the funeral expenses; a bow and three arrows; a knife (*kafkati*); a sieve (*kudzlmurn*) and a basket (*tek*).

In return, the Kotas receive the carcases of the buffaloes killed at the funeral, and on the occasion of a Kota funeral, the Todas supply one male calf from three to five years of age and one measure (*kudi*) of clarified butter. The Kotas also receive the bodies of any Toda buffaloes which die a natural death.

177 A Kota visiting a Toda village at any time is given
437 clarified butter to take away with him. He is also given
food consisting of jaggery and rice, which must be eaten
609 on the outskirts of the village. A Kota is never given milk,
796 buttermilk, or butter.

Once a year there is a definite ceremony in which the Todas go to the Kota village with which they are connected, taking an offering of clarified butter and receiving in return an offering of grain from the Kotas. I only obtained an account of this ceremony as performed between the people of Kars and the Kota village of Tizgudr, and I do not know whether the details would be the same in other cases.

177 In the Kars ceremony the Todas go on the appointed day
609 to the Kota village, headed by a man carrying the clarified
butter. Outside the village, they are met by two Kota priests
796 whom the Todas called *teupuli*, who bring with them a dairy
vessel of the kind the Todas call *mu*, which is filled with *patm* grain. Other Kotas follow with music. All stand outside the village, and one of the Kotas puts ten measures (*kwa*) of *patm* into the pocket of the cloak of the leading Toda, and the *teupuli* give the *mu* filled with the same grain.

The *teupuli* then go to their temple and return, each bringing a *mu*, and the clarified butter brought by the Todas is divided into two equal parts, and half is poured into each *mu*. The leading Toda then takes some of the butter and

234 Another title to fame is the possession of the *poh*, or conical
618 dairy temple at Nòdrs, which is known to the European inhabitants of the Nilgiri Hills as the "Toda Cathedral." It is certainly not the most sacred of Toda dairies, but it is the most accessible of the few dairies of this kind now remaining.

618 The Nòdrsol are one of the clans represented in the *naim*. They now stand second among the Tarthar clans in point of numbers, having forty-three males and thirty females.[1] It has two *kudr*, one of which, consisting of the family given in the first of the genealogical tables, has now only two male members; as these have at present no son, it is possible that it may shortly become extinct. The other *kudr* has five *pòlm*, of which the chief men are Kerkadr (2), Kudòdrsvan (3), Teigudr (4), Mondothi (5), and Keitan (6). If any of the members of these five *pòlm* should perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, the buffalo would go to Mudrigeidi and Oòrkurs, while, if either of these men had to give a buffalo, its value would be divided among the other five *pòlm*. Kerkadr is regarded as the head of the second *kudr*.

618 The *madnol* of the Nòdrs people are Tuesday and Friday,
764 and they hold the funerals of men on Sunday, and of women on Thursday. The special features of their funeral ceremonies are that the body of a man lies in the *tarvali* of Nòdrs for some days before the *etvainolkedr* and that a special bell (*mani*) is used at male funerals which has to be brought from Òdr. Male funerals are held at Nòdrs, and female funerals at Külthpuli. The clan used also to have another funeral place close to the Paikara road, which is not now used.

621 The Nòdrsol have many villages, of which fourteen are still
361 inhabited, and I obtained the names of five others now in ruins.

234 The following are the chief villages.

Nòdrs (Muttanadmand). In addition to the conical *poh*, this village has the distinguishing feature of a long wall which passes between this dairy and the huts where the

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[1] By this I mean that there are now living thirty females who were born members of the Nòdrsol, but since a woman becomes a member of her husband's clan, most of these are now members of other clans. I give the numbers of each clan in this form because it brings out several features of interest in relation to the relative fertility of different clans, the proportions of the sexes, &c.

wursuli and *kudrpali*, the former being called *Marsolv* and 621 the latter *Keinulv*. Outside the pen, called *Tu matu*, there 234 is a large stone called *keinkars*, and inside it there are two stones called *mutchudkars* and *pudrthkars*. I could learn little of the history or functions of these stones, but they were said to have been "played with" by Kwoten and Terkosh.

Perg (Yeragimand) is a small village near Avalanche Bungalow and is an example of a *kalolmad*.

Naters (Natanerimand) is a large village near Governor Shola, where most of the Panol live for the greater part of the year. This village has a *wursuli* and *tarvali*, but nothing else of interest.

Near Avalanche Bungalow there is the site of a village called *Pathmars*. Little remains of it, but the fireplace of a hut can still be seen.

Kabudri (Tebbekudumand). This is the male funeral 621 village of the Panol. Here there are two stones called *teiks* 764 where the *wursulir* are killed, and they are reputed to have been set up by Kwoten; one, called *parsteiks*, is for the Panol, and the other, called *kirshteiks*, for the Kuirsiol. Another place given as the male funeral place of Pan was Tim, where there is a three-roomed dairy of the same kind as that at Taradrkirsi, in the outermost room of which the body is placed. It is probable that Tim and Kabudri are two names for the same place.

TARADR

All the villages of this clan are situated in the north-west 618 corner of the hills and the clan appears to have no villages far 621 removed from the *etudmad*. The clan is a large one having 234 now at least thirty-seven male and thirty-nine female members. 775

The Taradrol appear to have in several ways a special position among the Tarthar clans. They possess the special institution of the *kugvali*, which, though resembling in some respects a *ti*, is situated by the other dairies of the village and is tended by dairymen belonging to the clan. The Taradrol are also unique in having their future world (Amnôdr) near Perithi.

618 234 The Taradrol are divided into two *kudr*, each of which has three *pòlm*. The chief men of the *pòlm* of one *kudr* are Ircheidi (20), Parkeidi (21), and Polgar (22); of the second, Paners (23), Irkiolv (24), and Kudeners (25). About the time of my visit the place of Ircheidi, who was ill, was taken by his son, Siriar.

The six *pòlm* of the clan take it in turn to look after the *kugvalir*, each having charge of the dairies and herd for a period of three years. Shortly before my visit, the charge had been taken over by the *pòlm* of Ircheidi and Siriar.

The following are the chief villages:—

621 234 764 *Taradr* (Tarnardmand). This is one of the most characteristic Toda villages, situated near the road leading to the Paikara falls. It is shown in Figs. 5 and 6, and has three dairies, situated at some distance from the dwelling-huts. The two dairies shown in Fig. 5 are the *tarvali* and *kugvali*, the former on the left-hand side and the latter on the right. The third dairy of the village is a *wursuli*, situated to the right of the *kugvali*.

Near the *kugvali* is a stone (shown in Fig. 24) at which the *wursulir* is killed at a Taradr funeral. The stone is called *püdrshtikars* after the name of the buffaloes (*püdrshtipir*). At a little distance from the three dairies are the remains of another *pali*, which was only used at the funeral of a male. This *pali*, like those at other funeral places had three rooms, and in the ruins at the time of my visit it was easy to make out the three divisions. When the occasion arises, the dairy is rebuilt on the day of the funeral, and the *tarpalikartmokh* takes the *mu* into the innermost room after purifying it with *tudr* bark. The body of the dead man is then laid in the outermost room and kept there till it is taken out after the slaughter of the buffaloes. If this temporary building is the representative of a former dairy with three rooms, it would seem that the village of Taradr once had four dairies.

621 *Kudrmas* (Kudimalmand). This is a *kalolmad* on the western side of the Paikara. The *kugvalir* were here during the greater part of my visit.

Telgudr (Telkodumand). This is another *kalolmad*.

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621 At present there appear to be seventeen males and fourteen females, but it is probable that these numbers are not complete. There are two *kudr*, headed by Kiurvan (32) and Atcharap (34). The former has three *pòlm*, of which the chief men are Puner (31), Kiurvan (32), and Orudz (33), and the latter has two *pòlm*, headed by Atcharap (34) and Kudar (35).

This clan seems now to occupy only two villages. One is Kwòdrdoni (Kodudonnemand), where there is only a *tarvali*, though there was formerly a *wursuli*, now ruined, in which was kept a *mani* called *Kirsongg* which has disappeared. The other village is *Katikar* (Kodanadmand). The male funeral place is *Indi*, and the female, *Pūmud*.

PĀM

This is a clan which formerly occupied the site of Coonoor and Wellington. Its numbers are small, probably only seventeen males and thirteen females. There are two *kudr*, headed by Udrchovan (36) and Pungievan (37). Udrchovan's *kudr* has only one *pòlm*. Pungievan's *kudr* has three *pòlm*, of which the chief men are Pungievan (37), Arparners (38) and Seili (39).

234
621 The original *etudmad* of the clan was *Pirspurs*, the site of which was used for the Coonoor racecourse. *Pām* was then adopted as the chief village, but it has been allowed to fall into ruins, though still giving its name to the clan. The dairy at Pām was called *Palikūdrbeds* and the buffalo-pen, *Tūgūdrsm*. *Inikitj*, where the people now live, is an uninteresting village at which there are the ruins of a *tarvali*. There is a building in which the four or five sacred buffaloes (*nashperthir*) are kept, but they are not milked as there is no *palikartmokh*.

764 The male funeral place of this clan was *Puvi*, and the female, *Kuudkusk*. These were situated where the Wellington barracks now stand, and the funerals are now held near Inikitj. Fig. 51 shows the wooden *teiks* at which the sacred buffalo would be killed at the funeral of a male.

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159 There are several stories about Karnisi (37), a member of this clan. He is said to have been an exceptionally strong

Tarthar people may use the milk. If Tarthar buffaloes, 184
however, go to a Teivali village, the Teivaliol may neither 234
milk them nor use their milk or its products. Thus buffaloes 616
which are normally milked by a Teivali dairyman when at their own village may not be milked by Teivaliol at a Teivali village, while there is no restriction on the milking of Teivali buffaloes by the Tartharol.

Although the Tartharol are in the habit of speaking of the Teivali dairymen as their servants, they have no means of enforcing service. The post of dairyman of any kind is one of profit, and, as we have seen, when the post, even of *palol*, ceases to bring a sufficient income, the Tartharol fail to obtain people to occupy it.

In the ceremonial of the dairy, the relation between the two divisions is entirely one-sided. The Tartharol own the buffaloes and the dairies, and the Teivaliol do the work. In certain other ceremonies, there is more reciprocity in the relations of the two divisions to one another.

The Tartharol have certain definite duties at a Teivali 616
funeral and the Teivaliol at a Tarthar funeral, and in most 764
cases the duties are thoroughly reciprocal and the two divisions appear to act on equal terms. Thus, in the earth-throwing ceremony, the earth is dug by a Teivali man at a Tarthar funeral, and the Tarthar men before they throw ask the Teivaliol whether they may do so. At a Teivali funeral these positions are reversed. Similarly, the buffaloes are caught by Tartharol for Teivaliol and *vice versa*.

On the other hand, there are some ceremonies in which the Teivaliol have definite duties to perform at a Tarthar funeral which are not reciprocated. In the earth-throwing ceremony of the Tartharol, earth is first thrown by the Teivali *wursol*, but he does this as dairyman and not as one of the Teivaliol.
The *kedtiti* ceremony of the second funeral is, however, only 616
performed at a Tarthar funeral, and in it a Teivali man 765
plays an important part, wearing the cloak which has been
covering the relics and adorning himself with women's 184
ornaments. He hangs on the neck of the calf the bell called *tukulir mani* and touches the relics with the bow and arrow after asking the Tartharol if he may do so. It is said

616 that this ceremony is performed at a Tarthar funeral in order
765 to purify the Tartharol with *tudr* before they go to Amnòdr,
and the prominent position of the Teivaliol in this ceremony
184 is evidently due to the use of this sacred substance.

After a funeral the Tartharol in general shave their heads, and this is not done by the Teivaliol, but it is also not done by the Melgarsol, which shows that the difference is connected with the different relations of the two divisions to the dairy ritual.

184 One important difference between the funeral ceremonies
of the two divisions is that the *mani*, or sacred bell, is not
616 used by the Teivaliol, except by the Piedr clan, and in this
764 case the bell is hung on the neck of the buffalo about to
be slaughtered by a Tarthar man belonging to the Nòdrs
778 clan. The use of a *mani* at the funeral appears to be pre-
783 eminently a Tarthar custom.

A further distinction between the two divisions is a consequence of the last difference. The Teivaliol do not purify the dairy after the funeral ceremonies because nothing has been taken from the dairy to be defiled. Similarly, the fact that the Teivaliol and Melgarsol use a male buffalo calf for the ceremony of purifying the various funeral places is connected in some way with the use of *tudr* by these divisions, while the general body of the Tartharol who are not purified with *tudr* use the blood of an adult female buffalo.

It will thus be seen that there is definite reciprocity between the two divisions as regards certain funeral duties, while the differences between the procedures of the two divisions are largely, if not altogether, connected with the use of the *mani* among the Tartharol and of the *tudr* tree among the Teivaliol, and each of these are points at which the funeral ceremonies come into relation with the dairy ritual. The differences in funeral rites would seem to be chiefly due to the different organisation of the dairy and its ritual in the two divisions.

616 There are other ceremonies in which the duties of the two
divisions are reciprocal. In the ceremony of ear-piercing, a
796 Tarthar man pierces one ear of a Teivali boy and a Teivali
man performs the same service for a Tarthar boy, and in the
ceremony called *putkuli tâdr ütiti* (see p. 503), a man

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER XX.

THE GREEN FUNERAL.

The two Funerals described—Last office to a dying Toda—The corpse journeys to the Kêdu Mand—The Kêdu Mand described—Obsequies—'Dust to dust'—Slaughter of Cattle—The ashes of the dead—Kotas remove the Carcasses of Cattle.

CHAP. XX.

764
765

THE ceremonies observed on the death of a Toda may be divided into two groups; the first of which, appertaining to the funeral proper, and termed the green funeral or hase[1] kêdu,[2] is performed within a day or two after death. The second, styled the dry funeral or bara[3] kêdu, which will be described in full in the next Chapter, and is more of a commemorative nature, was formerly celebrated in the course of two or three months after the first. It was, as I understand, delayed mainly by local circumstances affecting the general interests of the community. Of late years, however, certain restrictions which the Government of Madras placed on the slaughter of cattle at the ceremonies, have caused the people to postpone these final obsequies until the death of several Todas should enable them, by combining sundry funerals, to make one great show. Hence the bara kêdu is often not effected until the lapse of a twelvemonth after death.

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[1] Hase or pach or pache. Root in Drâvidian is paç = *tender, soft, raw, green.* Perhaps allied to Sansk. vaçanta = *spring.* Gaelic fas = *spring.* [POPE.]

[2] Kêdu. Tamil. Kanarese = *destruction, death.*
Telugu. Cheḍu = *perish.*
Compare Sanskrit kshi (ṉu) = *perish.* [POPE.]

[3] Bara. Tamil var. Kanarese and Telugu bar = *dry, parched, sterile, famine.* Compare Eng. bare. [POPE.]

CHAP. XX.

In my desire to witness a Toda's deathbed, as well as all the ceremonies consequent thereon, I had promised a handsome present to anyone who would bring me timely information, 124 whether by night or by day, of an approaching event; when I noticed a lad move off quietly with bright hope on his countenance, and shortly afterwards I overtook him striding over hill and dale, straight as a bird to his quarry. The reply to my enquiry where he was going was translated by the Tamil interpreter, 'Going to see somebody *too much* sick.' He was in fact on his road to some invalid Toda, whose case he thought bad.

When a man is so ill as to lead to the expectation of his 763 early demise, he is dressed up in the ornaments and jewellery 292 of his house, in order that he may make a respectable corpse. These he will wear until he either dies or recovers. Indeed a man who had revived from what was thought his death-bed has been observed parading about very proud and distinguished looking; wearing the finery with which he had been bedecked for his own funeral, and which he would be permitted to carry till he really departed this life.

When on the point of death, the last office his kin perform 763 for their relative, is to give him milk, if only a drop or two, to drink. No prayer is said, nor are the Gods invoked in any way.

It is well here to observe, as reflecting on other social pre- 593 judices, that there is no religious necessity for *a son* to perform 764 any one of the ceremonies attending on a Toda's death and 842 funeral. The laws of Manou style the eldest son 'him who is begotten to perform the duty,' and in consequence of this absolute necessity for a son, we find amongst the Aryas a high importance set upon male progeny. The Todas, however, whilst equally craving for sons, yet do not require them for any such religious object. The pride in male children appears to be based upon less definable causes, so much so as to seem almost inherent in man.

The decorated corpse is now wrapped in a new mantle, into 764

IAP. X.

the pockets of which, food, such as roast grain, sugar, *et cetera*, and small pieces of wood are put. He is now ready for his 764 journey to amnôr: he has food for the road.

It is a fact of interest and worth noting in connection with this narrative, that the Badagas—who have been already described as believed to be cognate to the Todas—preserve the custom common to the Greeks, of placing an *obolus* in the mouth of the dying man. So important do the Badagas consider the due performance of this last rite to the living, that they will keep a supply of this metal disc about the person in order that one may always be at hand for use on occasion. But to continue:—

The body is brought out from the little house and laid with care on the rough bier, formed with branches from the village grove.

The nearest kêdu Mand is out on a spur of that hill we see on the horizon, full six miles off. So there is no time to be lost. Good bye, dear old crone—his grandmother, and the young aunt with the new-born babe, and that sad little assembly of children, all brothers, sisters, uncles, nieces, of the dead man; some too old, others too young, all too weak, to trudge to the horizon over hill and dale.

[768] Now his house is shut up: the little door is closed. Twigs and leaves lying scattered on the ground: a neglected grindstone leaning against the wall: a piece of forgotten matting: the cat rubbing its ill-fed body on the door panel: the pertinacious flies about the house—all conspire to tell the tale of the savage's deserted dwelling, and the drama just enacted.

The corpse is rested for a few moments on the low surrounding wall, whilst its tall bearers step into the village pathway. The little family group which is to remain, crouches weeping close by. The others are busy with their adjustments preparatory to the long walk. The whole picture is before us; primitive, simple, or savage, yet these people have a thorough human appreciation of the moment.

764

Raise the stretcher into the path: carry in your hands through the soft bit, pitted with buffalo hoof marks: past the slushy pound: across the little trickling burn with its fern-brake and flower-studded margin, made by Nature so unconstrained and graceful, as though she hoped, even against all hope, with untiring persistency, that the day might come when some might turn to admire her, and from contemplating the power that made those silent but appealing beauties, glean a moral lesson.

Up with the burden on your shoulders. The primitive cortège has left the Mand; the man's ancestral home, its greenwood and the rippling stream, behind. It has passed the ragged cattle pen, and the group of calves nibbling herbage in the moist lea. The well-worn village path has opened out and divided into numerous narrow cattle tracks, up some of which our small party of mourners winds from the secluded village site, to the open high ground ahead.

Strange and rarely primitive is this be-mantled, bareheaded company of men and women, boys and girls. The corpse 'wobbles' on the unequal shoulders of its four bearers, striding along so direct: pursued closely by the train of quick-stepping women, suckling infants under their mantles as they go: and by a prolonged concourse of lightly laden men, carrying fuel for the pyre or little bundles and vessels containing food: flanked by sanguine youths, who, unburdened and without a care, straggle alongside, regardless of all paths. The pace has grown too fast for sobs.

The fresh wind, through the brilliant sunshine, now blows over the wold, without moving the crisp primeval grass which crackles as they pass, but tossing about the women's curls with wanton freedom, and leading to a general rearrangement of togas.

Airily along the gentle slope of the spur extending its unbroken length gradually down to the boggy tarn ahead. We pass the half-wild herd belonging to a neighbouring Mand, grazing under supervision of the lank boys who now approach to view the procession. A timid cow, scenting something unwonted, looks up alarmed, wheels round suddenly and bolts: wheels again, stops, and stares from a distance. A dozen others imitate her conduct exactly. Then the whole herd advances step by step, in circling line. A word or two from the boys, and all resume grazing except one inquisitive daughter of her mother, who singly follows the procession with nose uplifted, smelling, till she finds herself isolated from her comrades—then stops and gazes. Onwards proceeds the cortège.

Across the bog by the well-known track. Up again to the high land. Along the winding crests of the smooth continuous hills. Past another Mand nestling in a sleepy hollow; its cattle-pen looking in the bird's-eye view more important than the little human habitations.

Obviously we near the kêdu Mand, for, converging towards one focus, twos and threes of invited friends are seen tracing their different courses from out secluded valleys; now seemingly close at hand as they crest the rising ground, now lost to view—till suddenly we come on them all, quietly waiting to salute the corpse as it arrives on the ground.

Here, too, a compact little body of cows, *still belonging to the deceased*, which, snorting and scrubbing against one another, hot and fly-worried, with every tail in motion, come pushing along from the dead man's village, whence they have been driven through pasture and through bog land, to perform their part in the approaching obsequies.

The kêdu Mand consists of a stone cattle-pen, and a hut of the ordinary village dairy type, which when erected for a man's rites is styled kêd nâr pâlthchi or funeral district dairy, but when for a woman is termed kêd nâr ârsh, or funeral district house.[4] Also the customary rivulet of water, the little wood

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[4] Mr. Metz is my authority. The nicety of the distinction is not understood.

—somewhat shabby I notice, as if, when fuel ran short, a supply was often cut from it—and an open spot termed the âthârê.[5]

Arrived at the Mand afte: their hot and depressing trudge, the party deposit their various burdens; the food supply in the hut, and the bier on the ground, either inside or outside the little house, according to the state of the weather. Amidst the exchange of salutations going on all around between the different new arrivals, some engage themselves in building the pyre on the âthârê; and some of the women prepare meals inside the hut, for the large concourse of visitors, many of whom have been hurriedly summoned from long distances over the hills, and will be hungry. Others of the relatives most nearly interested, remain a lamenting group around the body.

When the funeral pile has been constructed and the last of the expected guests has arrived, a little bell—getti, not konku[6]—is hung round the necks of each of the cattle, accompanied by the words 'avan od atvo, go with him.' They are then driven in a group near to the corpse. A little hole is dug through the turf conveniently close by; from which the mourners, male and female, approaching one by one, take thrice, a handful of soil and throw it towards the buffalos: then three times more on to the prostrate body, saying 'purzh ulgama, purzh ulgama, purzh ulgama,'[7] meaning 'Let him go into the soil.' Each baby of the family had the fingers of its small hand unfurled and guided to perform this last rite; smiling the while, in infant wonder and approval at this new game.

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[5] Âthârê. Âthârb. Âthârm. Perhaps from the Sanskrit ad'hâra, which is used as = *fundamental*.
The meaning would be, *the place where the final rites are performed*. [POPE.]

[6] In Chapter XVI. it was explained that getti is the ordinary existing cattle-bell of the district. I never saw a konku except as a tiriêri relic.

[7] Puṛzh ulgama. In Tamil puṛuthi is *dust, soil, fine earth*. This Ṛ is a strong lingual, and sounds like rlz.
Uḷ is a Drâvidian root for *in, within*. In Kanarese, oḷagê = *within*. The termination A forms the optative. [POPE.]

The meaning of the words as, voluntarily and entirely without suggestion, explained by a Toda, is 'as we were born of the earth, we return to it.' The recumbent corpse is now raised a little in the arms of his relatives, as if to give it an air of authority. Then the cows, each with two men clinging round her horns and neck, having been dragged in succession up to their master, his dead arm is raised, and the hand made to touch the horns.

A *sacred fire* is now made by *igniting sticks by friction.*[1] The pyre is lighted. Now the corpse still in the arms of these punctilious relatives is raised over the pyre, swung lengthwise three times from side to side, then deposited—in its mantle and ornaments—on the wood, with its *face downwards*: the people crying, 'We shall kill buffalos for you.' 'You are going to amnôr.' 'May you have milk to drink.' 'May it be well with you.' 'May all thy sins go,' and so on. A lock of hair is cut off at this time.

I was careful to ascertain that the placing the body with its face downwards had not been an accidental circumstance. The people could give no reason for the act beyond their usual answer, 'It is our custom.' Nor had satirical objections to the practice of turning their friends' bodies upside down at the moment of starting for amnôr, the effect of drawing from them any excuse for, or vindication of, the apparently senseless act.

One or two cow buffalos are now despatched. The 'happy release' is performed by a single blow made on the poll of the creature's crouched head with the butt end of an axe, whilst it is held by a couple of strong men interlacing their arms over its neck and horns. As each animal falls, men, women, and children group themselves round its head, and fondle, caress,

[1] Probably by the Vorshâl. See Chapter VIII.

and kiss its face: then sitting in groups of pairs—both sexes indiscriminately—with the tops of their foreheads joined, give way to wailing and lamentation. A most singular and interesting spectacle, rendered more piquant and real, by the aspect of a small boy who, not finding his pair, was running about from one crying group to another, blubbering till his face was distorted and swollen, looking amongst the mantles for a spare head to rest his own against. 764

Thus they remain till the body has been consumed: when the lock of hair that had been cut off, together with portions of the half-burnt skull—nirrzh[9]—are collected in a piece of cloth, to be deposited in a corner of his house,[10] henceforth kept shut up, till the bara kêdu. [765]

The silver and gold of the burnt jewellery are sought for from the ashes, but little valueless odds and ends—as knives, iron rings and other ornaments, the rings off the ends of wooden pestles—together with the ashes of the dead, are buried in the ground. The hole which contains these remains is then filled up with earth, on which water is poured. Over all a stone. The earthen vessel which held the water is broken.

Having saluted the spot where the ashes have been buried, by touching it with their foreheads, they leave the place, avoiding it henceforward, but merely on account of the painful associations connected with it. A person once dead is never *named*, though he may be made the subject of conversation. 769 551

It is a mistake to suppose these people have a feast—a jollification—after this funeral. Indeed they are as little disposed for anything of the sort as we should be in the same position. But a number of friends from a distance have to be fed, and as all are not real *mourners*, and have many of them brought excellent appetites, they eat. 765

[9] Nirrzh. Nirru.=*sacred ashes, ashes.* This is at the root of it. [Pope.]

[10] Some such custom would be the origin of the Manes and Penates.

764 The funeral ceremonies of women and children are, I was informed, the same as for men; fewer cattle are killed, and perhaps not so large an assembly of folk are present, but in other respects they are identical.

[172] The carcases of the slaughtered cattle are left lying on the ground. So soon as the place is clear, they will be carried off by the Kotas, who have already assembled for the sake of this meat.

765 302 Toda men sometimes shave their heads and beards as a sign of mourning, though not often. Not so those of the Peiki clan, because 'they perform sacred offices.' Women never cut their hair off.

764 824 The cremation of the body is performed with the wood of certain (seven) varieties of trees, whose names I do not know. On showing samples of them, which had been collected for me by a young man, to a pâlâl, he swept them aside with his hand, implying that, compared with the tûde, which he treated with great respect, they were as nothing.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE DRY FUNERAL.

The burning of a Flute, Bow, and Arrows—The Dance—Scene with the Sacrificial Cattle—Again 'dust to dust'—Catching the Cattle—The Sacrifice—The Cattle-bell—No Priest concerned in the Ceremonies—Sprinkling of blood—Final burning of the Manes—The Kotas remove the dead Cattle.

CHAP. XXI.

If the first obsequies may be held to express feeling and
mournful sentiments for the deceased as true and sound
as any we exhibit in like circumstances; the ceremonies of 764
the bara kêdu or dry funeral may with equal justice be 765
looked on as partaking both of a propitiatory provisional
nature and of a commemorative festival character—as if performed with the object of speeding the general welfare of the friend gone to the unknown country: but in a style of show and hospitality somewhat commensurate with his worldly importance.

Hence we find the Todas congregate in considerable 765
numbers at the kêdu Mand, and display their ornaments on 177
these occasions: feeding also a large assembly of their own 533
and neighbouring tribes, conspicuous amongst which, the Kotas, who attend with much discordant piping or flageolet music (they are the musicians—save the mark!—of these hills). A very well-behaved multitude, but whose presence may be noted as readily by the nose as by other organs.[1]

In the very early morning of the first of a two days' 000

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[1] One now quite understands the value of the Toda expression, 'I see with my nose.' [192]

It may be, that the bell is a religious symbol of the bell-god 234
—konku dêr. (Note, that herds of cattle, ordinary village 765
droves, never wear a bell.) 793

I was careful to ascertain if, as has been asserted, a priest 764
superintended on these occasions.[1] My informant, the *ex*-pâlâl, told me, 'We—the pâlâl and kâvilâl—have no duties at a kêdu, nor do we receive presents after a death. If anyone has seen us at a funeral, it is because we want to know what is going on in the district, for we live such lonely lives. But we keep at a distance, because no one may touch us.'

What I have narrated, is a just description of funeral 183
obsequies properly executed, and as indeed, so far as ad- 764
herence to form goes, they are carried out to this day. But I 765
have ascertained, without any doubt remaining in my own 775
mind, the truth of what Dr. Shortt has written;[6] that old 178
and barren cows are often slain at these funerals.[7] It was formerly the custom to despatch a considerable number of the deceased's own herd for his support in amnôr. But whether the rise in value of buffaloes, or any increase of relative poverty amongst the people, has rendered them loath to deprive the living of a valuable means of sustenance; or if the fact of the Governing Power having limited the slaughter, has demoralised their minds, are points which I cannot decide. The truth remains, that whilst still believing in the necessity for providing the deceased with nutriment, they practically lessen that reduced limit, by despatching what no one knows better than they do, is actually worthless.

This early step in civilisation is, then, a pace backwards —commercial gain, by moral loss.

On the morning after the bara kêdu, before daybreak, the 765
mantle containing the ashes is taken to the âthârê, at which 775
the original cremation took place. Another buffalo is then killed—a male if for a Peiki or Pekkan: a female if for any of

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[6] Shortt, 'Tribes on the Neilgherries.'

[7] See Chapter VII., where I write on the sources of nicknames.

[1] [The bara Kêdu, or second funeral -- Analyst]

843 In the fifth month of a woman's first pregnancy, she marks her two thumbs in two places by a slight burn with a lighted rag.

[593] In the seventh month, at the time of new moon, the woman's father visits the husband's hut. The husband asks "Shall I tie the *Tāli?*"* The father consents. The
[322] husband then asks "Shall I give a bow?" The father says "Yes." The husband makes a bow of the *Hubbe* shrub, (*Sophora glauca*), the bark serving for the string. He takes this into a Shola in the afternoon, and gives it to his wife, who, sitting down before a jungle tree, in the stem of which a convenient hole can be found to place a small earthenware lamp, asks the name of the bow, holds it a little while, and then places it at the foot of the tree.

Each mand has a different name for the bow—

In Kândal it is *Pirzhcákham.*
„ Muttinâd „ *Pirzhírzhk.*
„ Kodanâd „ *Kurrkduvirzh.*
„ Manjakal „ *Bellgárăff.*

They remain in the Shola all night, and eat their morning meal there, returning home in the evening. On this occasion the woman's father generally presents the couple with a *Nāga* (a buffalo heifer). I have tried to find out the origin and object of these customs, but can get no further than *Māmūl* and *Shāstra.* One man added "*By the Bow and Arrow*† *we have got a wife who is with child.*"‡

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551 The most remarkable portions of the Toda ritual are those connected with the dead, in which there is much that is beautiful. A Toda always pays to the departed the respect of silence. A dead man's name is never heard again; his friends resort to any amount of periphrasis rather than profane by ordinary use "the household name of one whom God has taken."

● 764 They have two ceremonies; the "green funeral" (*Kordzai Kédu*), which takes place
765 soon after death, and the "dry funeral" (*Marvenáli Kédu*), a sort of commemorative festival, sometimes performed by the relatives of a single person, but more frequently in honour of any number of one clan who may have died within a twelvemonth or so.

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[301] * The *Tāli* is the Hindu equivalent of wedding ring. It is either a gold ornament of a peculiar shape, or a necklace of beads, which is tied on the neck of the bride by the bridegroom at the time of marriage. Among the Todas a string of black beads represents the Tali.

† See *Coorg Memoirs*, by Rev. H. Moegling, p. 40 :—

"As soon as a Coorg boy is born, a little bow of a castor-oil-plant stick (*Ricinus communis*), with an arrow "made of a leaf stalk of the same plant, is put into his little hands. He is thus, at taking his first breath, "introduced into the world as a future huntsman and warrior."

‡ A somewhat similar use of the bow is described in Dr. Leitner's account of Dardistan (*Ind. Antiquary*, No. 1, p. 12.) "When the bridegroom has to go for his bride to a distant village, he is furnished with a bow. "On arriving at his native place, he crosses the breast of his bride with an arrow, and then shoots it off. He "generally shoots three arrows in the direction of his home." Are these traces of "marriage by capture"?[1] That such marriages have been a recognised practice in India from ancient times is evident from Menu, iii. 33.

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[1] See *Development of Relationships*, by Sir J. Lubbock: *Journal Anthropological Institute*, vol. for January, July 1871, page 3 :—

"Marriage in Rome was symbolized by capture or purchase, as among so many of the lower races at the present day. In fact the "idea of marriage among the lower races of men generally is essentially of a different character from ours; it is material, not "spiritual; it is founded on force, not on love; the wife is not united but enslaved to her husband."

764 Each clan has its own appropriate[*] days of the week for the green funeral, "according to the *Shastras.*"

The body is not removed from the place of death till it is carried to the burning place,[†] which the Todas call *Methgúdi* (*lit. Marriage temple*).

All green funerals are alike. I will describe one I saw near Kartêri, at the old burning ground of the neighbouring mands, an open space near a stream. The body was brought on a stretcher preceded by Kota musicians. It is not necessarily carried by the relatives, or even by men of the same clan. A rough hut (called *Nôlpali* for a man, and *Nirzhârzh* for a woman,) was built of boughs and grass, in which the body was placed. The women of the mand sat by it, and moaned in their peculiar manner, one of them meanwhile embroidering a strip of cloth for a purse. Four walking-sticks and several skeins of cotton-thread, each with a bunch of cowries at the end, were laid upon the body, which was wrapped in a new *pútkuli*,[‡] the feet being tied together by the great toes with a piece of blue thread.

A rude circle[§] about a yard in diameter was then made of single stones, leaving an entrance gap at one side. Outside this circle the body was laid, with the head opposite the entrance, and the nearest male relatives in turn, drawing their *pútkulis* over their heads,[‖] took a wand (*Pett*), round which was tied a small rag, obtained from the *Pálál*, dug up the earth at the entrance of the circle, and muttering "*Purzhutukamā*," "May I throw earth?" threw three handfuls into the centre of the circle, and three on the body. After this the body was carried back to the hut and placed on the ground outside, and the women sat round it as before. A large silver necklace (*Kêvilth, Plate* XI., *Fig. b*), belonging to the widow, was laid on the breast of the corpse.

The funeral pile[¶] was made of large logs on a space cleared for the purpose near the hut. The dead man's herd was driven up, and some fifteen or twenty Todas went to it, one of them carrying wreaths of leaves to throw at the doomed buffaloes. Two of the animals were seized by four or five men hanging to their necks, separated from the herd, and dragged to the hut, followed by the Kota musicians. A bell was then

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[*] *For men.*

Pelki - - Thursday, Saturday, Sunday.
Todi - - Sunday, Tuesday.
Kuttan - - Saturday, Sunday.
Kenna - - Tuesday, Saturday, Sunday.
Pekkan - - Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday.

For women.

All clans - - Thursday and Saturday.

766 [†] Each clan has several *Methgúdis*, seperate ones for men and for women. In this case, however, as the deceased was a poor man who had died while on a visit to relatives at a distance, his body was not carried back to the usual burning ground of his Mand.

[‡] When death is imminent the patient is dressed in a new *Pútkuli* and other cloths.

763 [§] The circle is called *Taal* (*Kraal*), and is made in imitation of a buffalo kraal. If there is a kraal near the *Methgúdi*, the body is taken there, and the stone circle is not made. It is never made for a woman.

[‖] Compare 2 *Sam.* xv. 30; *Esther* vi. 12; and *Jer.* xiv. 3, 4.

824 [¶] The wood of the *Eugenia Arnottiana* is always used at the green funeral, that of the *Olea robusta* at the dry.

764 tied round the first buffalo's neck, and the corpse was lifted and made to touch three times the side of the animal, which was killed by one blow from the back of an axe, and its body dragged up, so that its head lay close to that of the dead man, the hand of the latter being made to clasp the buffalo's horn (*Plate* XIX.) The bell was then 765 transferred to the other buffalo, and the same process repeated. All the relatives seated themselves by the three bodies to mourn in couples, a man and woman putting their heads together and sobbing and moaning. After a little while each couple would separate, the woman saluting the man by raising his foot to her forehead (except in the case of the old women, when the process was reversed), and fresh pairs would be formed. As with other Eastern people, their sorrow is woeful to behold, the tears literally streaming down their faces and over their cloths. Their grief, however, is marvellously transient.

After this the widow sat alone mourning at the head of the deceased, and put three handfuls of grain into the pocket of his cloth. Then the body was placed on the bier, and laid on the ground beside the pile, which was lighted by the relatives, who, again covering their heads, made fire with two sticks.[*]

764 One side of the bier was cut into three and laid on the pile. *Sâmê* grain (*Panicum miliare*) and jaggery, the two great Toda luxuries, were then put into the pocket of the dead man's *pútkuli*, with two cheroots, some tobacco wrapped in red cloth, and the purse, embroidered by one of the mourners, containing five or six rupees in silver and a little gold coin.[†] A ring was put on the finger, and earrings in the ears. A bit of the skull with hair and one of the finger nails[‡] were cut off by the relatives; these, I was told, would be kept till the dry funeral in a little hut built near the mand for that purpose, and a buffalo bell hung over them for the relatives to ring night and morning. The bell is not hung over the remains of a woman. After this, ghee was thrown on the pile; the body was swung three times over the flame and laid on the pile *face downwards*, a sort of imitation bier or hurdle, which had previously been placed under the body, being laid above it.

When the fire has burnt out, any coin or metal that may have been actually given to the flames, is recovered; usually they merely pass such articles through the flame by way of an offering.

No care is taken of the ashes, they "are left to the winds," as a Toda told me.

765 [846] The dry funeral takes place within a twelvemonth or so after death, according to the pleasure of the relatives. Each clan has its own *kêdmanes*[§] or funeral houses, different ones for men and women. They are sometimes near a mund, sometimes not, but always have a kraal at hand. They are like the ordinary Toda huts, but are sometimes decorated at the time of the funeral with silver coins. These are mostly rupees,

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372 [*] A dry stick of the *Calirodaphne Wightiana*, about as thick as a man's thumb, is laid on the ground and held firm by the feet, a second stick is held upright between the two hands, the point resting on the horizontal stick: by twirling the upright with great rapidity between the palms of the hands fire is produced at the point of contact.

[†] Called by Todas *Birâs pânam*. I think it is the same as the *Birianhana* given to a dying Badaga. This is a *Vir-raya* or Coorg-fanam.

[‡] These appear to be specially sacred relics among the Buddhists also. Stupas covering a lock of hair, crown of skull, or finger-nail of Buddhist saints seem to have been common in the palmy days of Buddhism.

[§] *Kêd* is the name given to the skull, hair, and finger-nail saved from the green funeral, which are tied between two pieces of bark.

765 The pouch of the *pútkuli* is filled with grain. Outside the *Āzāram* are burnt the miniature stretcher (*Berrkvur*), some half-dozen mimic buffalo horns of bamboo (*Kūtēr*), the dead man's bamboo milk vessel, and the *Pell*. All the silver ornaments are passed through the flame and removed, before the utensils, &c. are burnt. All 533 the time the fire is burning, two Kotas are making night hideous with their discordant music, and all the Todas mourn and weep in couples, sobbing their rhythmical 539 farewell to the dead:

[*] *Âmunádga serumē,*
Karma dharma (pronounced *Karrm Dharrm*) *tilimā.*[*]

765 Courtesy requires that [illegible] attend the funeral should go through the form of mourning, but a brief display [illegible]tigated grief contents mere acquaintances.

Just as dawn is breaking, the music is stopped, the mourning ceases, and in dead silence all cluster round the *Āzāram* for the impressive closing ceremony. Water is sprinkled on the embers, a large stone at the entrance of the circle[†] is taken up, and a pit dug under it, into which they scrape the ashes, and the stone is replaced.

At a Todi funeral a man goes three or four times round the circle ringing a bell,[‡] followed by another with a chatty,[§] but this is not done by all the clans.

Finally a dim figure enters the circle, and raising a chatty high over his head dashes it to pieces on the stone covering the ashes,[‖] bends down, touches the stone with his forehead, and hastens away. All the others perform in turn the same prostration, and flitting silently down the hill—a procession of hurrying shadows—fade into the mist through which twinkles the distant fire at the *kédmane*. Imagination might easily transform them into the departing spirits of the propitiated dead.

They tell me that they have a tradition that after putting their foreheads to the stone, they must get away as quickly as possible, and without looking back. The natives of the plains have, I believe, a similar superstition.[¶]

762 At a woman's dry funeral, instead of the bows and arrows, a rice-beater is burnt, and last of all the *kédmane* itself, a remarkable symbolical acknowledgment of the exceptionally important position which the Toda women occupy.

764 Thus the Toda funeral, like the Badaga song which describes a future state,[**] ends in note of despair, a mournful suggestion that, after all, their cares for the dead may be in 765 vain. Surely those who instituted these remarkable ceremonies must have recognised the 174 significance of that time-honoured symbol the "broken pitcher;" a type of irremediable

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[*] This is the only thing in the shape of verse I know among the Todas.

[†] At a Todi funeral near Tāmāt Mand the entrance was N.N.E., but this does not seem to be always the case. Some more modern *Āzārams* might be examined to ascertain this, which is important in connexion with the orientation of the cairns.

[‡] Not a sacred bell, but one that the Kotas keep and bring with them to the funeral.

[§] An earthen pot.

[‖] Dubois, People of India, p. 290. At a Brahman funeral "the chief of the funeral taking on his shoulder a pitcher of water goes three times round the pile, letting water run over it through a hole in the vessel, which he afterwards breaks near the head of the corpse."

[¶] Among the Todas, according to Dr. Pope, the same word, Bhūt, stands for ghost and demon. Possibly the interment of the last relics of the dead is felt as breaking his last link with the living, and giving him over to the disembodied army of Bhūts. The dread of ghosts, or belief in the evil power of the spirits of bad or unmarried men is very common in India.

[**] Dravidian Folk songs, by Mr. Gover.

764 destruction, and of usefulness gone by for ever, contrasting pathetically with the hopes
of immortality implied by the previous elaborate provisions for the future welfare of the
765 dead. Such a recognition, however, implies a widely different religious life from that
of the modern Toda. It is startling to contrast the respect for the dead to which
174 this ritual testifies, with the utter indifference shown by the present race, not only
to the disposal of the buffaloes, but even to the fate of old *Āzārams*. Numbers of
these are to be found in different parts of the hills, but the Todas do not even
always claim them as theirs; and in no case object to their being examine[illegible]nd
destroyed. The sacrifice of the buffalo, the sprinkling of blood, the loosing of the
calf,* and all the striking symbolism of their funeral rites, have no meaning for the
present generation. Like the numerous gods who are never worshipped, and the
preparatory penances of the priests who perform no priestly offices, these are but
the strangely suggestive relics of a bygone faith.

411 The burning at funerals of a mimic bow and arrow together with the daily-used
implements of the deceased, and the importance assigned to the bow in the marriage
173 ceremony, seem to me inexplicable, except on the theory that the bow was once the
224 chief weapon of the Todas, although they are ignorant of its use now.† This view is
262 in a measure confirmed by the Todas' admission that their ancestors ate samber flesh,
and that they would gladly do so now if they could obtain it; and by the fact that
776 they still recognise, and make offerings to, a hunting God under the name of Bētikhân,
782 who, though he now resides in a temple at Nambilicotē beyond Gudalūr, is, they say,
the son of their ancestor Dirkish.

The question then arises: how and when did the bow fall into disuse with the Todas?
174 a disuse the more strange, because some of the jungle tribes near the base of the Nīlagiris
411 are still expert archers.

224 The answer would seem to be found in the tradition mentioned by Colonel
Ouchterlony, viz.—that before the Badagas and Kotas came to the Hills, the Todas
lived only by their herds, and wore leaves. As far as the leaf dresses go, the story
seems apocryphal. If the Todas had only adopted clothes after the arrival of the
Badagas and Kotas, their garments would probably have Badaga or Kota names, whereas
pútkuli, tharp, kônu, &c., are among the few Toda words which Mr. Metz can trace to
no Dravidian roots. Besides, a hunting race would certainly wear skins: however, the
story probably contains some truth. Before the cultivating tribes settled in the Hills,
the Todas, unless they killed their cattle, would have no means of obtaining solid food
except by hunting, for their traffic with the Western Coast must have been too inter-

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* The idea of the Scapegoat, Egyptian I believe, as well as Jewish, has more than one Indian illustration. The Baigas, who exercise priestly offices among the Gonds, loose fowls occasionally on this principle, while among some of the tribes of the N.W. Provinces, an inanimate representative is chosen in the shape of a sieve or winnow which is beaten in every corner of the house and then thrown outside the village, to carry away the poverty of the people. (*Tribes of the N.W. Provinces, Sir H. Elliot.*)

† I do not overlook the fact that both Badagas and Kotas burn the bow at their funerals; but this I think is borrowed. That the Badagas do copy the Todas, is evident; for although they do not kill a cow, they go through the form of dragging one up to the funeral pile, seizing a diminutive country cow by the neck and horns, and pulling it along with a ludicrous imitation of the Todas' struggles with their powerful buffaloes.

The Badagas have also adopted the *Tér* or funeral car of the Kotas, an innovation which astonishes the Gurus from Mysore who occasionally visit the Hills.

The Todas and Kotas have a good deal in common, of which I shall speak afterwards.

174 mittent and insignificant to be depended on for subsistence. Probably they were then
expert in the use of the bow, but when they found that they could obtain from the
411 cultivators a share of their produce, such an idle race as the Todas would naturally
abandon the toilsome and precarious occupation of hunting.

224 The disuse of the bow is thus, to a certain extent evidence of an improvement in the material condition of the Todas, though unaccompanied by any advance in civilisation: still, as they themselves admit that it would be convenient to supplement their food by samber* flesh, their present inability to procure it, shows how easily a semi-savage race may lay aside and forget† arts of obvious utility as soon as the pressure of absolute necessity is withdrawn.

174 It is noteworthy that this indication of a still wilder life than that of the modern Toda, should occur side by side with traces of so much higher a religious condition.

The disposal of the body is suggestive. Col. Dalton, in an account‡ of somewhat
764 similar funeral rites among the Kols, observes that some of the accessories of their
765 ceremonial suggest the idea that their dead were originally buried, not burnt. The Toda
ceremonies convey this impression with still greater clearness. The *Berrkvur* probably
represents an actual bier, and the sprinkling of earth on the body and in the circle, as
before described, leads almost inevitably to the conclusion that the body was formerly
buried, *and that the stone circle was the original burying place.*

784 The minor observances present coincidences interesting, but of little ethnological importance, such as the dread of looking back, as old as Orpheus and Eurydice; and the three handfuls of earth which recall our own funeral rites.

000 It would be desirable to obtain detailed accounts from eye-witnesses of the ceremonies of other Indian Hill tribes, and of the Low Castes of the plains. It seems to me that it is in such observances, rather than in the every-day life of these tribes, that the most valuable indications of their previous condition are to be found; because, while circumstances necessarily affect their ordinary life, customs of this kind may remain unchanged for centuries.

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* Sâmber, commonly known as the Indian Elk, a large kind of deer.

† Vide—Sir J. Lubbock *On the origin of civilization and primitive condition of Man*, page 331:—

> "The art of spinning and the use of the bow are quite unknown to many races of savages, and yet
> "would hardly be likely to have been abandoned when once known"!

Sir J. Lubbock, *Prehistoric Times*, page 451:—

> "Many again, of the ruder arts, as for instance the manufacture of pottery, and of bows, are so useful,
> "and at the same time, however ingenious in idea, so simple in execution, as to render it highly
> "improbable that they would ever be lost, when they had once been acquired"!

‡ Col. Dalton's *Kols of Chota Nagpore. Transactions Ethnological Society, Vol. VI., New Series, page* 37. He says that among the *Hos* and *Moondahs* a corpse is burnt in a very stout coffin furnished with projections as if to facilitate transport. With the body are burnt all the clothes and ornaments of the deceased, and what money he had with him at his death. The larger fragments of bone are afterwards selected (the rest being buried at once) and hung up for some time in a place where they may be constantly viewed by the mother or widow. After some time a large monumental stone is brought to the family burying ground. The bones are carried in procession to the houses of relatives, who mourn over them, and to the favourite haunts of the deceased, preceded by men with drums, and girls carrying empty and half broken pitchers, which from time to time they reverse. Ultimately the procession circles round and round a large hole at the burying place, the bones are placed in a new earthen vessel, and deposited with a quantity of food in the grave, which is covered by the monumental stone.—Compare the reversed pitchers and interment in an earthen vessel with the account of cairns at the end of this volume.

3a. Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

293 **No. XI.**—Toda club (ornamented as used at a funeral ceremony). *See* Plate XI. Made by the Todas of the Hâli tree. Rupee 1.

● 764

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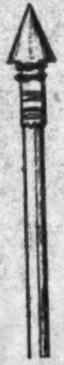
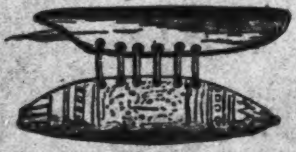


301 **No. XII.**—Gold earrings. Worn generally by men and sometimes by women. Made by Kotas. Gold procured from Malabar in the shape of sovereigns. Rupees 12, 8 annas.

283 **No. XIII.**—Silver box, end opening with a screw. Used for small gold coins. Worn round the waist over the *thorp* with a string, or sometimes a silver chain. Silver, got from silver coins. Made by low country smiths, and bought in its present shape by the Todas. Rupees 6.



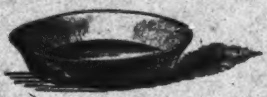
301 **No. XIV.**—*Tólcaddi.* Brass armlet worn by women above the elbow; big ones weigh each 2½ lbs., small ones 1 lb. Made by Kotas of brass brought up by low country merchants. An armlet made of Nilagiri nettle fibre, bound with cotton thread, with a coarse tassel, is worn as a sort of buffer between the brass armlets. A woman will sometimes wear two of the big brass armlets, and two of the small ones on each arm. Girls of ten years old will begin to wear the small ones, and three or four years after the big ones. The armlets are never taken off except for repairs. Rupees 12, 8 annas.

301

283 **No. XV.**—Two necklaces worn and made by Toda women. Beads purchased in Bazaar. The beads are strung upon thread made of the Nilagiri nettle. Black beaded necklaces called *Keshvad.* Red beaded necklaces called *Nerballi.* Annas 4.

3s Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

445 **No. XXII.**—*Tharig* (థరిగ). Dish of bell metal made in the low country, used by Todas to eat out of. Four or five sizes will be found in each house. Rupees 3, 12 annas.



60-3 **No. XXIII.**—"Pútkuli." Same as No. I, but worn by women so as to hang down to the feet, and not thrown so much over the left shoulder. Rupees 3.

No. XXIV.—*Tharp* (థార్పు.) Waistcloth worn by women high up over the breasts. The female "tharp" is larger than the man's "tharp." Procured from Serumuge. 10 annas.

No. XXV.—*Bilthagór.* Necklace, made by Kotas. The chain of silver, the tassels of cowries. When worn, the tassels hang down behind. Rupees 3.

286 **No. XXVI.**—*Tinnigéni* (తిన్నిగేని). Purse made by Toda women. At funerals it is put into the pouch of the Pútkuli and burnt with the corpse. Made of coloured cotton thread. *Gratis.*

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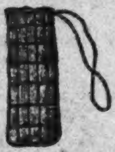
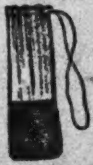
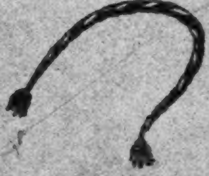


No. XXVII.—*Káttshérom.* Ordinary purse worn by Todas. Made in the low country and bought by Todas from traders who came to the Hills. *Gratis.*

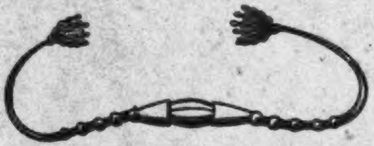


No. XXVIII.—*Pénnár* (పెన్నార్.) Made of black and white cotton by Toda women. Tied round the waist of the corpse and burnt at funerals. Ends done up with cowries. Sometimes eight or ten are burnt at one time. *Gratis.*

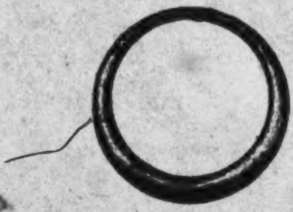


34 Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

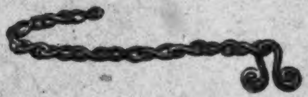
301 No. XXIX.—*Kêvilth* (ಕೇವಿಳ್ಥ್). Necklace made by Kotas. Worn generally by women; burnt with the body at funerals. 30 rupees.



No. XXX.—*Billeall* (ಬಿಲ್ಲೆಲ್ಲ್). Worn by women on the right wrist. Made by Malabar jewellers. Small silver beads rattle inside. Rupees 5, 8 annas.



No. XXXI.—*Theggâr* (ತೆಗ್ಗರ್). Brass chain worn by women round their waist next to the skin. Made at Kota village. Rupees 1, 4 annas.



No. XXXII.—Môdara (ಮೋದರ). Silver ring worn by men and women on the small finger of either hand; a coin often forms the seal of the ring. Made by Tamil smiths. Rupees 3, 4 annas.

No. XXXIII.—*Pitteh.* Worn by males and females on the third finger of the right hand, and made by Tamil smiths. Rupees 4, 8 annas.

372 No. XXXIV.—*Kwolth* (ಕೊಳ್ಥ್). Bamboo for blowing up fires. Made by Todas.

764 5C No. XXXV.—*Puffi.* A square basket covered with cloth and cotton, and ornamented with cowries; at dry funeral for a female, 15 or 18 will be burnt, each containing a piece of jaggery, garlic, safron, sandalwood, and some när (fibre) for sewing thread, the latter prepared by Toda woman; the basket is made by the Kurumbas.

No. XXXVI.—*Kuttbuclth* (ಕುಟ್ಟುಕೊಳ್ಥ್). Burnt at the dry funeral of a female. Made by Kotas.

534 No. XXXVII.—*Buguri* (ಬುಗುರಿ). Musical instrument; a sort of flute. Made by the Todas, and played by them and by Badagas.

582 of which is understood to ratify the agreement. When, in due
583 course of time, the marriage takes place, the bride, who is probably about fifteen or sixteen years of age, receives from her father a dowry of several buffaloes, together with necklaces, armlets, and ear-rings. The ceremony is generally celebrated by a dance, which, though not of a very exciting description, seems to afford sufficient satisfaction to these cheerful, good-natured people. It consists of stamping on each foot alternately, the body being jerked half round at one step, and back again at the next, to the time of a very monotonous song.

843 When about to become a mother, in place of receiving every
851 comfort and consideration, the Toda woman is sent out, or, what amounts to the same thing, is by custom expected to go out into the forest, and there remain alone, protected only in case of stormy weather by the shelter of the bushes. After the child is born, it is not allowed to be seen by any-one but its parents for some weeks, at the end of which time it is duly named and presented in public.

582 It is a fact worth noticing that, notwithstanding the scarcity
563 of women (said to be owing to the practice of female infanticide which prevailed till within a very few years ago), the Todas never contract marriages with the other tribes, though living together on most friendly terms. That there never has been any mixture of the races, is sufficiently evident from the strongly marked distinctions that continue to exist between them.

It is not less singular, on the other hand, that, in spite of the system of intermarriage which has thus prevailed among the Todas for many generations, or it may be ages, there should not only be no sign of physical deterioration, but that both sexes should be so remarkable for their stature, pleasing exterior, and noble bearing. This would seem to confirm the theory that the marriage of relations, however closely connected, would, in cases of mutual faultless constitution and physical form, result in these excellences of the parents being transmitted, just as in the opposite case physical and mental defects common to both are transmitted, and even augmented.

764 When a death occurs among the Todas, the corpse, covered over with certain aromatic herbs, is left in the hut either till distant friends are summoned, or until the occurrence of a propitious day for the burial; these people being firm believers in

764 lucky and unlucky days. Each night and morning of the interval between the death and the funeral, a lament or coronach is sung over the body by the family and relatives of the deceased. In this they are often joined by passing friends, or by those who have come for the purpose of thus testifying their respect for the dead, and sympathy with the survivors—a trait in the character of this people exhibited in many other ways, and more remarkably than with even many civilised nations.

765 The day of a death is observed by the immediate relatives, as it was among the ancient Jews, as a solemn fast. Their necklaces and ear-rings are also taken off, and the hair is cut short, as a sign of grief and mourning. Both sexes are obliged to conform to this custom on the death of a near male relation, though when a female dies the men do not do so. The sacred class, or *Terralees*, are exempt in either case.

764 On an appointed day, the relatives from a distance having duly arrived in obedience to the summons, the body covered over with a mantle, but having the face exposed, is carried in procession on a sort of bier to the *Terraree*, or sacred ground belonging to the family, and, under the superintendence of the high priest attached thereto, assisted by his subordinate, is burned with certain solemnities and much wailing; the relatives, prior to the corpse being placed on the funeral pile, cutting off a few locks from the head.

766 The above are, however, only the preliminary honours paid to the dead, the principal rites being deferred to a subsequent period, which may be a few weeks, or as many months later.

With a view to the coming rites, portions of the deceased's ashes are saved from the pyre, and, together with the locks of hair, his ear-rings and other ornaments, are carefully folded in his own mantle, and laid by until the proper time arrives.

The concluding ceremonies are, perhaps, the most singular and interesting of all the Toda customs, and I was fortunate in having an unusually favourable opportunity of witnessing them. For, familiar as some of their practices have latterly become in the neighbourhood of our new Hill-stations, their funeral obsequies are only celebrated in the more remote parts of the mountains, and are consequently seldom seen by any European.
000 Indeed, I do not know that the presence of Captain J. and myself would have been tolerated on the occasion to which I

346 In addition to the dairies which in form resemble the
234 dwelling-huts, the Todas keep up as dairy-temples certain
curious conical edifices, of which there are said to be four
on the Nīlgiri plateau, viz., at the Muttanād mand, near
Kotagiri, near Sholūr, and at Mudimand. The last was
out of repair a few years ago, but was, I was informed,
going to be rebuilt shortly. It is suggested by Dr.
Rivers as probable that in many cases a dairy, originally
[178] of the conical form, has been rebuilt in the same form as
the dwelling-hut, owing to the difficulty and extra labour
of reconstruction in the older shape. The edifice at the
Muttanād mand (or Nōdrs), at the top of the Sīgūr ghāt, is
known to members of the Ootacamund Hunt as the Toda
cathedral. It has a circular stone base and a tall conical
thatched roof crowned with a large flat stone, and is
[784] surrounded by a circular stone wall. To penetrate
within the sacred edifice was forbidden, but we were
informed that it contained milking vessels, dairy apparatus, and a swāmi in the guise of a copper bell (mani).
The dairyman is known as the varzhal or wursol. In
778 front of the cattle-pen of the neighbouring mand, I
noticed a grass-covered mound, which, I was told, is
sacred. The mound contains nothing buried within it, but
[764] the bodies of the dead are placed near it, and earth from
the mound is placed on the corpse before it is removed
to the burning-ground. At "dry funerals" the buffalo is
said to be slain near the mound. It has been suggested
346 by Colonel Marshall * that the "boa or boath [poh.] is not
174 a true Toda building, but may be the bethel of some tribe
contemporaneous with, and cognate to the Todas, which,
taking refuge, like them, on these hills, died out in their
presence."

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* A Phrenologist among the Todas, 1873.

847 178 native veracity with reference to this point, and, in view of the lack of encouragement which the practice receives from the Indian Government, this is not altogether surprising. The supposition of female infanticide, by accounting for the great disproportion in the numbers of the sexes, brings the Todas into harmony with what is known of the rest of mankind." In summarising his conclusions, Mr. Punnett notes that :—

[162] (1) Among the Todas, males predominate greatly over females.

(2) This preponderance is doubtless due to the practice of female infanticide, which is probably still to some extent prevalent.

(3) The numerical preponderance of the males has been steadily sinking during recent years, owing probably to the check which foreign intercourse has imposed upon female infanticide.

●764 In connection with the death ceremonies of the Todas, Dr. Rivers notes that "soon after death the body is burnt, and the general name for the ceremony on this occasion is etvainolkedr, the first day funeral. After an interval, which may vary greatly in length, a second [765] ceremony is performed, connected with certain relics of the deceased which have been preserved from the first occasion. The Toda name for this second funeral ceremony is marvainolkedr, the second day funeral, or 'again which day funeral.' The funeral ceremonies are [574] open to all, and visitors are often invited by the Todas. In consequence, the funeral rites are better known, and have been more frequently described than any other features of Toda ceremonial. Like nearly every institution of the Todas, however, they have become known to 764 192 Europeans under their Badaga names. The first funeral is called by the Badagas hase kedu, the fresh or green funeral, and the term 'green funeral' has not only become the generally recognised name among the European inhabitants of the Nilgiri hills, but has been widely adopted in anthropological literature. The second funeral is called by the Badagas bara kedu, the 'dry funeral,' and this term also has been generally adopted." The various forms of the funeral ceremonies are discussed in detail by Dr. Rivers, and it must suffice to describe those at which we have been present as eye-witnesses.

I had the opportunity of witnessing the second funeral of a woman who had died from smallpox two months previously. On arrival at a mand on the open downs about five miles from Ootacamund, we were conducted by a Toda guide to the margin of a dense shola, where we found two groups seated apart, consisting of (*a*) women, girls, and brown-haired female babies, round a camp fire; (*b*) men, boys, and male babies, carried, with marked signs of paternal affection, by their fathers. In a few minutes a murmuring sound commenced in the centre of the female group. Working themselves up to the necessary pitch, some of the women (near relatives of the deceased) commenced to cry freely, and the wailing and lachrymation gradually spread round the circle, until all, except little girls and babies who were too young to be affected, were weeping and mourning, some for fashion, others from genuine grief. In carrying out the orthodox form of mourning, the women first had a good cry to themselves, and then, as their emotions became more intense, went round the circle, selecting partners with whom to share companionship in grief. Gradually the group resolved itself into couplets of mourners, each pair with their heads in contact, and giving expression to their emotions in unison. Before the beast. But Colonel Ross-King narrates how he saw 765 a man receive a dangerous wound in the neck from a 782 thrust of the horn, which ripped open a wide gash from the collar-bone to the ear. With the death of the buffalo, the last scene, which terminated the strange rites, commenced; men, women, and children pressing forward and jostling one another in their eagerness to salute the dead beast by placing their hands between its horns, and weeping and mourning in pairs; the facial expression of grief being mimicked when tears refused to flow spontaneously.

The ceremonial connected with the final burning of the relics and burial of the ashes at the stone circle (azaram) are described in detail by Dr. Rivers.

A few days after the ceremony just described, I was 764 invited to be present at the funeral of a young girl who had died of smallpox five days previously. I proceeded accordingly to the scene of the recent ceremony, and there, in company with a small gathering of Todas from the neighbouring mands, awaited the arrival of the funeral cortége, the approach of which was announced by the advancing strains of Kota music. Slowly the procession came over the brow of the hill; the corpse, covered by a cloth, on a rude ladder-like bier, borne on the shoulders of four men, followed by two Kota musicians; the mother carried hidden within a sack; relatives and men carrying bags of rice and jaggery, and bundles of wood of the kiaz tree (*Eugenia Arnottiana*) for the funeral pyre. [824] Arrived opposite a small hut, which had been specially built for the ceremonial, the corpse was removed from the bier, laid on the ground, face upwards, outside the hut, and saluted by men, women, and children, with the same manifestations of grief as on the previous occasion. Soon the men moved away to a short distance, and engaged

764 in quiet conversation, leaving the females to continue
mourning round the corpse, interrupted from time to time
by the arrival of detachments from distant mands, whose
first duty was to salute the dead body. Meanwhile a
near female relative of the dead child was busily engaged
inside the hut, collecting together in a basket small
measures of rice, jaggery, sago, honey-comb, and the
girl's simple toys, which were subsequently to be burned
with the corpse. The mourning ceasing after a time,
the corpse was placed inside the hut, and followed by
the near relatives, who there continued to weep over it.
764 A detachment of men and boys, who had set out in
782 search of the buffaloes which were to be sacrificed, now
returned driving before them three cows, which escaped
from their pursuers to rejoin the main herd. A long
pause ensued, and, after a very prolonged drive, three
more cows were guided into a marshy swamp, where
one of them was caught by the horns, and dragged
reluctantly, but with little show of fight, to the strains
of Kota drum and flute, in front of the hut, where it
was promptly despatched by a blow on the poll. The
corpse was now brought from within the hut, and placed,
face upwards, with its feet resting on the forehead of
the buffalo, whose neck was decorated with a silver
[301] chain, such as is worn by Todas round the loins, as no
bell was available, and the horns were smeared with
butter. Then followed frantic manifestations of grief,
amid which the unhappy mother fainted. Mourning
764 over, the corpse was made to go through a form of
588 ceremony, resembling that which is performed during
pregnancy with the first child. A small boy, three years
old, was selected from among the relatives of the dead
girl, and taken by his father in search of a certain grass
[824] (*Andropogon Schœnanthus*) and a twig of a shrub

(*Sophora glauca*), which were brought to the spot 764
where the corpse was lying. The mother of the dead 588
child then withdrew one of its hands from the putkūli, [824]
and the boy placed the grass and twig in the hand,
and limes, plantains, rice, jaggery, honey-comb, and
butter in the pocket of the putkūli, which was then
stitched with needle and thread in a circular pattern.
The boy's father then took off his son's putkūli, and
replaced it so as to cover him from head to foot.
Thus covered, the boy remained outside the hut till the
morning of the morrow, watched through the night by
near relatives of himself and his dead bride. [On the
occasion of the funeral of an unmarried lad, a girl is in
like manner selected, covered with her putkūli from
head to foot, and a metal vessel filled with jaggery, rice,
etc., to be subsequently burnt on the funeral pyre, placed
for a short time within the folds of the putkūli. Thus
covered, the girl remains till next morning, watched
through the dreary hours of the night by relatives.
The same ceremony is performed over the corpse of a
married woman who has not borne children, the husband
acting as such for the last time, in the vain hope that
the woman may produce issue in heaven.] The corpse 764
was borne away to the burning-ground within the shola, [765]
and, after removal of some of the hair by the mother of
the newly wedded boy, burned, with face upwards, amid
the music of the Kota band, the groans of the assembled
crowd squatting on the ground, and the genuine grief
of the nearest relatives. The burning concluded, a
portion of the skull was removed from the ashes, and [765]
handed over to the recently made mother-in-law of the [588]
dead girl, and wrapped up with the hair in the bark of [824]
the tūd tree (*Meliosma pungens*). A second buffalo, [782]
which, properly speaking, should have been slain before

764 [782] the corpse was burnt, was then sacrificed, and rice and jaggery were distributed among the crowd, which dispersed, leaving behind the youthful widower and his custodians, who, after daybreak, partook of a meal of rice, and returned to their mands; the boy's mother [765] taking with her the skull and hair to her mand, where it would remain until the celebration of the second funeral. No attention is paid to the ashes after cremation, and they are left to be scattered by the winds.

A further opportunity offered itself to be present at the funeral of an elderly woman on the open downs not far from Paikāra, in connection with which certain details possess some interest. The corpse was, at the time of our arrival, laid out on a rude bier within an improvised arbour covered with leaves and open at each end, and tended by some of the female relatives. At some little distance, a conclave of Toda men, who rose of one accord to greet us, was squatting in a circle, among whom were many venerable white-turbaned elders of [293] the tribe, protected from the scorching sun by palm-leaf umbrellas. Amid much joking, and speech-making by the veterans, it was decided that, as the eldest son of the deceased woman was dead, leaving a widow, this daughter-in-law should be united to the second son, and that they should live together as man and wife. [576] On the announcement of the decision, the bridegroom-elect saluted the principal Todas present by placing his head on their feet, which were sometimes concealed within the ample folds of the putkūli. At the funeral of a married woman, three ceremonies must, I was told, be performed, if possible, by a daughter or daughter-in-law, viz.:—

[824] (1) Tying a leafy branch of the tiviri shrub (*Atylosia Candolleana*) in the putkūli of the corpse;

(2) Tying balls of thread and cowry shells on the arm of the corpse, just above the elbow ; 764

(3) Setting fire to the funeral pyre, which was, on the present occasion, done by lighting a rag fed with ghI with a match.

The buffalo capture took place amid the usual excitement, and with freedom from accident ; and, later in the day, the stalwart buffalo catchers turned up at the travellers' bungalow for a *pourboire* in return, as they said, for treating us to a good fight. The beasts selected for sacrifice were a full-grown cow and a young calf. As they were dragged near to the corpse, now removed from the arbour, butter was smeared over the horns, and a bell tied round the neck. The bell was subsequently removed by Kotas, in whose custody, it was said, it was to remain till the next day funeral. The death-blow, or rather series of blows, having been delivered with the butt end of an axe, the feet of the corpse were placed at the mouth of the buffalo. In the case of a male corpse, the right hand is made to clasp the horns. [It is recorded by Dr. Rivers that, at the funeral of a male, men dance after the buffalo is killed. In the dancing a tall pole, called tadri or tadrsi, decorated with cowry shells, is used.] The customary mourning in couples concluded, the corpse, clad in four cloths, was carried on the stretcher to a clear space in the neighbouring shola, and placed by the side of the funeral pyre, which had been rapidly piled up. The innermost cloth was black in colour, and similar to that worn by a palol. Next to it came a putkûli decorated with blue and red embroidery, outside which again was a plain white cloth covered over by a red cotton cloth of European manufacture. Seated by the side of the pyre, near to which I was courteously invited to take a seat on the stump of a rhododendron,

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764 was an elderly relative of the dead woman, who, while
watching the ceremonial, was placidly engaged in the
manufacture of a holly walking-stick with the aid of a
glass scraper. The proceedings were watched on behalf
[648] of Government by a forest guard, and a police constable
who, with marked affectation, held his handkerchief to
his nose throughout the ceremonial. The corpse was
decorated with brass rings, and within the putkūli were
stowed jaggery, a scroll of paper adorned with cowry
shells, snuff and tobacco, cocoanuts, biscuits, various kinds
of grain, ghī, honey, and a tin-framed looking-glass. A
long purse, containing a silver Japanese yen and an Arcot
rupee of the East India Company, was tied up in the
putkūli close to the feet. These preliminaries concluded,
the corpse was hoisted up, and swung three times over
the now burning pyre, above which a mimic bier, made
of slender twigs, was held. The body was then stripped
of its jewelry, and a lock of hair cut off by the daughter-
[765] in-law for preservation, together with a fragment of the
skull. I was told that, when the corpse is swung over
[775] the pyre, the dead person goes to amnodr (the world of
the dead). In this connection, Dr. Rivers writes that
"it would seem as if this ceremony of swinging the body
over the fire was directly connected with the removal of
the objects of value. The swinging over the fire would
be symbolic of its destruction by fire; and this symbolic
burning has the great advantage that the objects of value
are not consumed, and are available for use another time.
This is probably the real explanation of the ceremony,
but it is not the explanation given by the Todas them-
[173] selves. They say that long ago, about 400 years, a man
[763] supposed to be dead was put on the funeral pyre, and,
revived by the heat, he was found to be alive, and was
able to walk away from the funeral place. In consequence

of this, the rule was made that the body should always be 764
swung three times over the fire before it is finally placed, [763]
thereon." [Colonel Marshall narrates the story that a [773]
Toda who had revived from what was thought his death-
bed, has been observed parading about, very proud and
distinguished looking, wearing the finery with which he
had been bedecked for his own funeral, and which he
would be permitted to carry till he really departed this
life.] As soon as the pyre was fairly ablaze, the mourners,
with the exception of some of the female relatives, left the
shōla, and the men, congregating on the summit of a
neighbouring hill, invoked their god. Four men, seized, 764
apparently in imitation of the Kota Dēvādi, with divine 786
frenzy, began to shiver and gesticulate wildly, while
running blindly to and fro with closed eyes and shaking
fists. They then began to talk in Malayālam, and offer
an explanation of an extraordinary phenomenon, which
had appeared in the form of a gigantic figure, which
disappeared as suddenly as it appeared. At the annual
ceremony of walking through fire (hot ashes) in that year, [796]
two factions arose owing to some dissension, and two sets
of ashes were used. This seems to have annoyed the gods,
and those concerned were threatened with speedy ruin.
But the whole story was very vague. The possession by
some Todas of a smattering of Malayālam is explained [191]
by the fact that, when grazing their buffaloes on the
northern and western slopes of the Nīlgiris, they come
in contact with Malayālam-speaking people from the
neighbouring Malabar district.

At the funeral of a man (a leper), the corpse was 766
placed in front of the entrance to a circle of loose stones
about a yard and a half in diameter, which had been
specially constructed for the occasion. Just before the
buffalo sacrifice, a man of the Paiki clan standing near

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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766 the head of the corpse, dug a hole in the ground with a cane, and asked a Kenna who was standing on the other side, "Puzhut, Kenna," * shall I throw the earth?—three times. To which the Kenna, answering, replied "Puzhut" —throw the earth—thrice. The Paiki then threw some earth three times over the corpse, and three times into the miniature kraal. It is suggested by Dr. Rivers that the circle was made to do duty for a buffalo pen, as the funeral was held at a place where there was no tu (pen), from the entrance of which earth could be dug up.

764. 533 Several examples of laments relating to the virtues and life of the deceased, which are sung or recited in the course of the funeral ceremonies, are given by Dr. Rivers. On the occasion of the reproduction of a lament in my phonograph, two young women were seen to be crying bitterly. The selection of the particular lament was [123] unfortunate, as it had been sung at their father's funeral. The reproduction of the recitation of a dead person's sins at a Badaga funeral quickly restored them to a state of cheerfulness.

648 764 782 The following petition to the Collector of the Nilgiris on the subject of buffalo sacrifice may be quoted as a sign of the times, when the Todas employ petition-writers to express their grievances:—

"According to our religious custom for the long period, we are bringing forward of our killing buffaloes without any irregular way. But, in last year, when the late Collector came to see the said place, by that he ordered to the Todas first not to keep the buffaloes without feeding in the kraal, and second he ordered to kill each for every day, and to clear away the buffaloes, and not to keep the buffaloes without food.

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* "Puzhuthina—Shall I throw earth?" Rivers.

We did our work according to his orders, and this excel- 648
lent order was an ample one. Now this ——, a chief 764 ●
of the Todas, son of——, a deceased Toda, the above 782
man joined with the moniagar of —— village, joined together, and, dealing with bribes, now they arose against us, and doing this great troubles on us, and also, by this great trouble, one day Mr. —— came for shooting snapes (snipe) by that side. By chance one grazing buffalo came to him, push him by his horns very forcely, and wounded him on his leg. By the help of another gentleman who came with him he escaped, or he would have die at the moment. Now the said moniagar and —— joined together, want to finish the funeral to his late father on the 18th instant. For this purpose they are going to shut the buffaloes without food in the kraal on the 18th instant at 10 o'clock. They are going to kill the buffaloes on the 19th instant at 4 o'clock in the evening. But this is a great sin against god. But we beg your honour this way. That is, let them leave the buffaloes in the grazing place, and ask them to catch and kill them at the same moment. And also your honour cannot ordered them to keep them in the kraal without food. And, if they will desire to kill the buffaloes in this way, these buffaloes will come on us, and also on the other peoples one who, coming to see funs on those day, will kill them all by his anxious. And so we the Todas begs your honour to enquire them before the 18th, the said funeral ceremony commencing, and not to grant the above orders to them."

A Whit Monday at Paikāra was given up to an 52
exhibition of sports and games, whereof the most 536
exciting and interesting was a burlesque representation 764
of a Toda funeral by boys and girls. A Toda, who was

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fond of his little joke, applied the term pacchai kēdu (green funeral) to the corpses of the flies entrapped by a viscous catch'em-alive-oh on the bungalow table. To the mock funeral rites arrived a party of youths, as from a distant mand, and crying out U, hah, in shrill mimicry of their elders. The lad who was to play the leading part of sacrificial buffalo, stripping off his putkūli, disappeared from sight over the brow of a low hillock. Above this eminence his bent and uplifted upper extremities shortly appeared as representatives of the buffalo horns. At sight thereof, there was a wild rush of small boys to catch him, and a mimic struggle took place, while the buffalo was dragged, amid good-tempered scuffling, kicks, and shouting, to the spot where the corpse should have been. This spot was, in the absence of a pseudo-dead body or stage dummy, indicated by a group of little girls, who had sat chatting together till the boy-beast arrived, when they touched foreheads, and went, with due solemnity, through the orthodox observance of mourning in couples. The buffalo was slain by a smart tap on the back of the head with a cloth, which did duty for an axe. As soon as the convulsive movements and twitchings of the death struggle were over, the buffalo, without waiting for an encore, retired behind the hillock once more, in order that the rough and tumble fight, which was evidently the chief charm of the game, might be repeated. The buffalo boy later on came in second in a flat race, and he was last seen protecting us from a mischievous-looking member of his herd, which was grazing on the main-road. Toda buffaloes, it may be noted, are not at all popular with members of the Ootacamund Hunt, as both horses and riders from time to time receive injuries from their horns, when they come in collision.

Toda names were given at all. *E.g.* [kaɴfuɯsodj] gave no Toda names 797
to his children, though his interest in tribal affairs is intense and his 553
connexion with the tribe is fairly intimate. I cannot explain his failure to give Toda names, though a contributing factor is probably to be seen in the fact that his wife is not Toda by origin. In the few cases where I have recorded Toda names for the children of Christian Todas, tribal patterns were followed for the females. *E.g.* [tuaːsmonguɯːʀ] (59, Tormungudr) named one of his daughters [sotjabuːf] "spiritual power-flower,"[9] which has as its first member [sotj], occurring in the song-language paired with [tuːʟ] in references to the power of the gods or the dairy-complexes. There is probably in this name however a transfer to the Christian sphere of thought. This man's other daughter was also given a Toda name, but she is so generally known, even to the tribal Todas, as Mary that my informants were unable to remember the Toda name. Two girls recently born were named [piʟjiːʒfuːf] "silver-flower" and [tyʟjiːʒfuːf] (the first member [tyʟj] is not clear).[10] One name of a male child belongs to the tribal religious sphere; [kuaʀoːn] has a son called [asojxuɯrᴛɴ] from [asojuɯr], the buffaloes of the [tiː]-dairy of this man's original patrilineal sib.[11] Another son of his is called [siɳxuɯːʀ] "gold-horn," which has no sib-connexions; the formation resembles that of women's names in its use of [sin] "gold," but the second member [kuɯːʀ] "horn" is an element found not in women's names, but in male names with sib-connexions.[12] Similarly with [pumxuɯːʀ] "fruit-horn,"[13] the name of a son of [iːʂxuɯːʀ] (21, Idrshkwòdr).

Tribal social customs have had in general to be abandoned. Funerals and weddings, for example, are conducted in Christian fashion, and 797 184
the tribal manner of legitimizing children by giving a toy bow and arrow 585
to the pregnant mother can no longer be used. A survival of tribal 064
custom may be seen however in a preference for cross-cousin marriage 851
(which is not prohibited by Church of England canon law or by English 797
civil law). This is the preferential form within the tribe but operates 184
with many exceptions. Consequently, marriage among the Christians 582
can take place between those who are not cross-cousins without departure from tribal patterns. The small number of the Christians makes non-cross-cousin marriage obligatory in most cases. One case, however, is known to me in which cross-cousins were available, and here the failure

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[9] *Ib.* §§ 26–8, for the formation.

[10] *Ib.* § 24 for -[iːʒ] and § 27 for a name with this suffix added to its first member and followed by a second member.

[11] *Ib.* § 9.

[12] *Ib.* § 8.

[13] *Ib.* § 28, for the element [pum].

797 has been baptized, will not be readmitted to the tribe. Children born in
794 the Christian community are not admitted to the tribe; the reason given
184 is that they are not legitimate, since no toy bow and arrow has been
[562] given for them, and so they cannot be fitted into the tribal social struc-
[851] ture. [alc] (3, Ults), his wife [sirmɯl] (30, Sirmul) and their children
attempted to return to the tribe; only the man was received.

794 Blood and affinal relationships within the tribe involve each member
184 of the tribe in a network of rights and obligations. At a funeral, for
764 example, certain people related to the dead person must provide buffaloes
[782] to be slaughtered, and every man in the tribe has obligations of this
sort which he will sooner or later have to meet, while on the other hand
when he dies it will be obligatory on others to provide buffaloes for his
funeral. It is felt by the tribe that the Christian Todas still have
obligations of this sort towards their relatives in the tribe. Though the
[797] missionaries object to the obligations being met for funerals, the
slaughter being based on a non-Christian attitude towards a future life,
it has happened on several occasions that the Christians have met their
obligations, either willingly or unwillingly. [kerxuɯːʀ] (63, Kergudr)
provided a buffalo for the funeral of his father [kanɯs] (Kaners); I do
not know whether this was voluntary on his part or not. In the case
of [kaɴfɯsodj] however my notes are more complete. When he was a
recent convert, on two occasions he provided buffaloes for classificatory
brothers, [pɯnog] (14, Punog) and [kiškeːn] (14, Küshken). He
says that he thought it best to follow the tribal rules and to yield to the
insistence of the tribal council. Recently, however, [nertnɯs] (24,
Nertiners) died, who had married [paːɯiːʒfiɭj] (14, Poidjveli), the
classificatory sister of [kaɴfɯsodj]. Her brother [noːnmuʀj] (Non-
mudri) and [kaɴfɯsodj] were the only surviving affines of [nertnɯs]
who could be called on to provide a buffalo for the funeral; according to
the present regulations they should have provided one buffalo between
them. [noːnmuʀj] had no buffaloes. One of the animals belonging to
[kaɴfɯsodj] was at a tribal pasture under the care of [idjoːn] (20, son
of [teːpax]). This was seized and slaughtered at the funeral in spite of
protests by [kaɴfɯsodj]. It was finally arranged by the tribal council
that [noːnmuʀj] should pay to [kaɴfɯsodj] half the value of the buffalo.

794 Other obligations are found on the occasion of a woman's first mar-
184 riage. Her husband gives to her father his best buffalo or two buffaloes,
and five rupees; these are the [kŏkuɯlj] "bribe." He also makes a
585 feast for all the Todas. The father then gives the husband [aɴpɯn]
"dowry," *i.e.* a number of buffaloes, at least twice as many as the
"bribe," plus one, *i.e.* three if the "bribe" was one, five if it was two.

have had far-reaching social consequences,[1] has been stamped 582
out, and almost the only trace remains in the persons of kuɯːʂjaɭf's 588
children by this union, who are still spoken of as his 616
children though legally they belong to the other moiety. 178
kuɯːʂjaɭf, who was a man of great force and influence, was able
to go against the long-established custom of the tribe, but as soon
as his influence was removed, conservatism prevailed.

One Toda interest of high rating is the catching of buffaloes 764
at funerals. The men who are to catch the buffaloes line up at a 554
spot which is fixed for each funeral-place and at a given signal 526
all drop their garments and sprint for the swamp where the
buffaloes have been stationed. Great honor attaches to the man
who wins in this race and reaches the buffaloes first, and honor
also goes to those who handle the buffaloes most skilfully when
they are caught and being brought to the spot where they are to
be killed. Women are inclined to grant sexual favors more often [832]
and more readily to young men who are known for their prowess
in this matter. Even old men who can no longer compete with 764
the young ones in running demand an opportunity to catch 554
buffaloes. Arrangements are usually made to give them their 887
chance. Certain buffaloes are assigned to certain old men, who 526
then take their seats near these buffaloes and catch them while
the young men are running for and catching the others. Quarrels [578]
frequently arise on this account, since the young men grudge the

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[1] While it is futile to speculate on what might have been, yet it is interesting to trace in a mechanical manner the primary results if this innovation had been carried through so that it became the only allowable type of marriage, no other change taking place and all the present rules of paternity and of residence remaining in force. Organisation would have been as follows. The tribe would consist of two exogamous moieties. A man would be legally the son, not of his mother's husband, but of her male cross-cousin within her own moiety, since at present cross-cousin marriage is the preferred type for a woman's first marriage. Since a woman of the toufiɭj moiety may not live at, or even enter, a village of the toːrθaʂ moiety and no woman has any ceremonial function in connexion with the buffaloes and the dairy cult, the present villages of the toːrθaʂ moiety would be abandoned as dwelling places but would be ceremonially and economically important as the places where the dairy operations and rituals of certain herds were carried on. Ownership in these herds as well as in the herds of the most sacred grade of dairies, the tiː-dairies, which now belong to the toːrθaʂ moiety, would descend to a man of this moiety from his mother's male cross-cousin within her moiety. All of which is complicated, but not impossible.

887 764 554 526 [518] old ones this opportunity and sometimes catch the old men's
assigned animals before the latter can reach them. Old men
retaliate sometimes by stepping in when the young men are
unable to control a buffalo that has been caught. In the latter
case the old man is inclined to boast inordinately of his prowess.
[533] Great speed in running and skill in catching buffaloes is
celebrated in the songs. Adventitious rewards are occasionally
764 554 526 given to the winner in the race for the buffaloes. E. g. about
twenty years ago at the funeral of kanmẹ (Rivers' genealogical
table 63), kuɯẹ:jaɬf, the headman of the tribe, offered a fine cloak
to the winner in the race. It was won by ke:nodz (21), who still
dwells on this proof of his former prowess. If this interest needs
any buttressing, it has recently been provided by the Ootacmund
648 526 Hunt, which initiated in 1936 at the point-to-point race meet a
cross-country running race for Todas. In that year and in 1937
the race was of about a mile and a quarter over rolling downs.
It was won both years in remarkably fast time by a young man,
[789] who was said at the time to have gone to the Kurumbas beforehand
for charms to help him to win. This innovation, which
will no doubt last as long as the Ootacamund Hunt, merely adds
another small item to a highly-developed interest and fits well
into the Toda pattern.

291 177 Toda men's costume has been affected to a slight extent by the
influence of the immigrant plainspeople. I have already
described the proper Toda clothes in my paper *Toda Garments and
Embroidery*. In addition to these most men nowadays wear a
shirt under the cloak in the manner made familiar to them by the
Indians in the bazaar. A turban of bright-colored cloth or silk
[292] is also affected, by headmen usually and by all others who can
afford it for festal occasions. That this is a borrowing is easily
seen from the clumsy efforts that the men make in tying the
turban and from the lack of any uniform style in the result.
Some young men also wear a bright-colored neckerchief knotted
in front as a fairly regular part of their costume; this is a very
[178] recent innovation and seems to be an independent invention.
[784] [234] None of these new garments may be worn when the men go
inside the walls surrounding the dairies. The waistcloth, though
it seems to be an innovation of about a century ago, is worn near

normal period they must be careful not to touch the priest while he is exer- 841
cising his priestly duties ; e.g. when a woman takes the vessel to the line of 778
stones, she sets it down on the ground and retreats a few paces and the priest 234
avoids contact even with the profane vessel. Priests, however, are permitted
to sleep in the profane part of the mund, the houses, on certain nights of the [793]
week, depending on the grade of dairy at which they officiate, and on these nights they may have intercourse with the women in the houses and no restriction is put upon their contact with the women.[1] A menstruating woman, however, must not stay in the house when a priest comes to sleep there. She is further debarred from touching any buffaloes, calves, or buffalo-pens, even those which she may touch at ordinary times, as e.g. non-sacred buffaloes which are being milked for the use of the houses. The restrictions which ward off women from the dairy-complex are at ordinary times stringent enough ; these extra ones are designed to remove the last traces of contact during a woman's menstruation period.

The funeral huts used for men at all male funeral places are called by the 764
word which denotes a dairy (poɬy). Some of the sibs in fact place the corpse 841
of a man in a dairy which is used as such and in one or two other cases there 778
are traditions that the funeral huts were originally dairies of certain grades.[2] A
menstruating woman may not enter any funeral hut of a male to lament over [614]
the body. This is a slight further indication that all the funeral huts of males are regarded as dairies, as they are terminologically. The ne:lpoɬy, or hut which is built for the accommodation of the relics of a man between the first and second funerals, also has as part of its name the word for dairy. It is not however regarded as a dairy, nor is there any indication that it was a dairy at any stage of its development. But no menstruating woman may enter it. It is probable that this restriction has been made following upon the restriction on a menstruating woman's entering the funeral hut proper.

One mund, kuɯ:sy of the sib called mö:ɽ was according to tradition 778
formerly a dairy-mund of the highest grade, a ti :-mund. A certain amount 183
of its original sanctity still attaches to it, and in theory women do not live 562
there any more than they do at ti :-munds. The inconvenience of this regulation is however overcome in practice by a fiction. Women live at the mund kuɯ:sy but the marks of women's occupation are not allowed in the mund, i.e., the grain-pounder, the winnowing-basket, and the broom must be kept outside the mund and never brought to the houses. All household duties involving these articles must be performed outside of the munds. Like- [841]
wise, no menstruating woman may stay in the mund ; she must go outside and stay away for three days. At ordinary times she may be in the mund by a fiction, but when she is really and unequivocally a woman, the fiction will not avail to preserve the sanction of this mund.

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[1] See Rivers, *The Todas*, pp. 62 (towards the bottom), 67 (bottom), 72 (towards the bottom), 78 (middle). [113]

[2] Rivers, pp. 339-40.

535 614 765 [648] [616] dancing will add somewhat to the treatment. Dancing takes place at weddings[16] and at such religious ceremonies as the giving of salt to the buffaloes (up-oṭjt), the rethatching of a dairy (poḷj-ful-fæṭst), and the prayer-ceremony at a chief mund[17] (mod-fortjt), as well as at such unusual social occasions as the reception of an important European visitor, the celebration under the patronage of the Governor of Madras by all the inhabitants of the Nilgiris of a Jubilee in the British royal family, large Badaga ceremonies which many Todas attend, etc. At such dances men from both moieties participate in the same dance. Men who may not dance are those who are mourning a death. (a) If the first funeral has not yet taken place, dancing is prohibited to those who are mourning the death of a man of the same patrilineal sib, of the same matrilineal sib, or of one who is called pojoɪl, i.e., wife's father or brother, wife's father's brother, and conversely, daughter's husband, sister's husband, brother's daughter's husband (cf. p. 165). If the dead person is a woman, the prohibition affects, besides members of her matrilineal sib and her pojoɪl, only those members of her father's patrilineal sib who belong to her immediate family. (b) If the first funeral has taken place, but mourning still obtains until the second funeral shall have been performed, no one may dance who is related to the dead person by relationship within the matrilineal sib, by the closest relationship within the patrilineal sib, i.e. by membership in the immediate family of the dead person, or by pojoɪl relationship as in (a). In both (a) and (b), when a man is dead, dancing is [616] [837] prohibited for the husband and sons of the woman in the opposite moiety with whom he has had sexual relations of the "lover-mistress" type;[18] when a woman is dead, dancing is prohibited for the man in the opposite moiety with whom she has had "lover-mistress" relations, and for his sons.

535 614 616 764 765 [837] Dancing also takes place at funerals, whether first or second. Normally only men are allowed to dance who belong to the other moiety than the one to which the dead person belonged. Here again the prohibitions indicated in the preceding paragraph hold with regard to people in the "lover-mistress" relationship to the dead person. And, of course, no person may dance who is mourning any other death. The rule permitting only men of the opposite moiety to dance is sometimes broken. At the funeral of some relatively unimportant person there may not be enough men of the opposite moiety present to dance, or at the funeral of a member of the uŋkitj, nirj, and puŋgoɪr sibs of the toɪrθas moiety, since the munds of these sibs are far from any munds of the töüfilj moiety. In this case members of the same moiety as the dead person will be permitted to dance, but no one who is mourning the dead

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[843] [851] [16] There is no dancing at the ceremony when a man gives the toy bow and arrow to his wife during her pregnancy to legitimize the child (pus-wïṭt). At a ceremony of this kind which I attended with Mr C. P. Skrine, Agent of the Madras States and author of *Chinese Central Asia* (London, 1926), the men danced so that he should be able to see how it is done. The words composed during the dance were about myself and the ceremony was mentioned only as one in a list of ceremonies that I had seen.

[621] [17] A mund (Toda word mod) is, throughout this paper, a dairy institution plus a dwelling place. The significance of "chief mund" (et-ïɛnḍ-mod) as opposed to other munds (mar-mod) has been explained in my paper *Toda Culture Thirty-five Years After* (Annals, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. 19, pp. 101-21, 1938), pp. 113-15.

[18] See reference in note 9 above.

person because of relationship in the same matrilineal sib, in the same patrilineal sib, or by 535
pojoɨ/ relationship may be permitted to dance.[19] Or, it may happen that, although there are 614
enough members of the proper moiety to dance, there is no one present of the proper moiety 616
who knows how to compose dance-words.[20] In this case if a composer of the moiety of the
dead person is present, he may be permitted to dance and compose words. It may happen 764
that all the composers of both moieties will be prevented from dancing by the mourning 765
rules; in this case one of them will be allowed to dance and compose words.

It will be seen from the manner in which the rules are relaxed between situations (a) [533]
and (b) for a man, and within the situation (a) as between a man and a woman, that no one may ever dance who is related by co-membership in the same matrilineal sib to any dead person, either of whose funerals is outstanding. In both cases however when the rules are relaxed, i.e. when a man's second funeral only is outstanding and when a woman's first or second funeral is outstanding, the only co-members of the patrilineal sib who are forbidden to dance are those within the immediate family. We may conclude from these rules 614
and from the universally overriding force of relationship within the same matrilineal sib in the application of kinship terms, that in these social spheres the matrilineal sib has greater importance than the patrilineal.[21] Rivers' description has of course made clear the overwhelming importance of the patrilineal sibs in the economic, religious, and social spheres. A man belongs to the patrilineal sib of his father and inherits his property and all his ownership rights and duties in the sacred herds of buffaloes, the dairies at which they are tended, the pastures, etc. This is the pivot of Toda life and in it the matrilineal sibs do not figure at all. In the matter of marriage patrilineal and matrilineal sibs are of equal value; no Toda may marry a person belonging to his own sib of either type. In the matters treated in this paper, however, though both types of sib play a part, the matrilineal sib relationship has greater weight than the other.

A hint of the attitude of a Toda towards the members of his matrilineal sib is provided 539
by the words of the songs. The attitude is identified by the work noɨkj which was trans- 614
lated as "shame," and refers to the sensation of shrinking felt when one is confronted with
an embarrassing situation. We shall first examine a prose account of the expedition of 775
kajnɨr (Kainir, 3) to the points of interest on the path over the hills followed by the dead
on their way to the afterworld. His daughter ɑrlɨtʒ had married pɨsḳöɾ (Pilkòdr, 16) of the 196
mötɾ patrilineal sib, whose mund pɑn is very near the point where the path starts south- 114
westward into the Kundah hills. She assured her father of the interest that such an expedition would have and he with several companions made it successfully. One of the points is

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[19] A person who cannot dance on any occasion because of mourning is called kɨɨt(k)-kotpoɨ| "person who is waiting for a funeral." [20] See reference in note 12 above.

[21] Another place where relationship in the matrilineal sib counts is in the salutations performed at various [576]
ceremonies, as e.g., at the pɨɨs-ɨɨt or bow-giving ceremony. There the wife salutes all the male and female members of her father's patrilineal sib and her own matrilineal sib, and those of her husband's patrilineal sib who are older than herself. Likewise the husband salutes all the male and female members of his patrilineal sib, his matrilineal sib, and his wife's patrilineal sib without respect to relative ages. So correct Rivers, p. 320.

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539 pɯrmaxfɯr,[28] a swamp reached shortly after the path is entered. When kɔjniw asked what
614 it was he was told: il-ton-ɯji pɯɨrotj-noɨj yɐt "It is just here that the pɯɨrotj-noɨj [a tiger
[775] that looks like a dog] chases people." The text proceeds: 'æd' ud fintjn. 'poʃjoɨʃ-xuɨrjfojoɨʃ fimd-mortk-fæɨdfoj-xuɨrjfojoɨʃɵ pɯɨrotj-noɨj yɐti; poʃjoɨʃ ŋoɨŋjti; oɨoɨʃ xarsti' udng. "He
[114] asked: 'Why?' They said: 'The pɯɨrotj-noɨj chases a man who has had sexual intercourse with one of his matrilineal sib or who has had sexual intercourse with one of his patrilineal sib; his poʃjoɨʃ feel shame; the oɨoɨʃ laugh.' " The word poʃjoɨʃ was said to mean his relations, and the word oɨoɨʃ those not related to him. The latter word is quite obscure, is never used except in songs and in this passage quoted, and only the use in this passage as explained by the narrator gives any clue to its meaning. If poʃjoɨʃ means all relations, and not merely members of the same matrilineal sib, it is the only place, where its meaning can be determined, in which it has such an extended meaning. It is very possible that the two phrases used here are derived from the song-language; the use of oɨoɨʃ, otherwise only a song-word, is rather good evidence that this is so. Such use of song-phrases in the telling of stories would not be unusual. If so, we need not force poʃjoɨʃ into the extended meaning required in the story. It refers literally to members of the matrilineal sib only, but by the implications of the context to members of the patrilineal sib as well.

If we now examine the cases where poʃjoɨʃ occurs in the songs, we find that it is in all but one case joined with the word noɨlkj (cf. the verb noɨŋjti "are ashamed" in the prose above). In one case three sons of a man of the toɨroɨr patrilineal sib wanted to make a two-
[764] day funeral for their father, and their sib approved and joined in making preparations. These included getting a permit from the Government authorities to slaughter more than the nor-
[578] mally permitted two buffaloes. One important man of the kuɨɨ patrilineal sib was overlooked in the distribution of gratuities and from spite blocked the issue of the permit. In her lament for her husband, the widow says:

pɯɨkθuɨrθoɨr poʃjoɨʃ-ŋoɨlkj oɨjxθuɨtɯn
pɐɨθoɨr oɨoɨʃ-ŋoɨŋ oɨjxθuɨtɯn
noɨdjoɨʃk-noɨlkj oɨjxθuɨtɯn
aɨmjoɨʃk-eig oɨjxθuɨtɯn

"The toɨroɨr patrilineal sib became ashamed before the poʃjoɨʃ, the oɨoɨʃ, the people of the country (noɨdjoɨʃ), the people of the district (aɨmjoɨʃ; district = country)." It is apparent here that the poʃjoɨʃ and the oɨoɨʃ together make up the Todas, and that the shame is that of one patrilineal sib when thwarted in an honorable undertaking by another. The words poʃjoɨʃ and oɨoɨʃ have no real pertinence in this context; they are the conventional words in song-language when speaking of shame.

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[28] One account given to me placed this near the beginning of the path, another (perhaps the more trustworthy) where it is placed in Rivers' account of the path ([illegible], pp. [illegible]); his account is in general incomplete.

had both received pieces of cloth from the cicisbeo of their wife. 837

So ingrained in Toda customs is the *mokhthoditi* institution that [431] somebody who died without having either a *mokhthodvaiol* or a *sedvaitazmokh* would have to have one appointed after death so as to [764] fill the place reserved for that person at the funeral rites. For cicisbei have an important function to fulfil on this occasion, and no ceremony would be complete without it. It is significant that a brother of the woman's husband is preferred in the case of such a posthumous appointment.

At the cremation of Ling Mish (23, called after Miss C. F. Ling!), 837 a Tarar woman married to a man of the Norsh *modol*, on the 27th 764 July, 1939, I saw her cicisbeo, a Teivilkh, come forward at the moment when her body had been prepared to be laid on the pyre, and insert with his left hand some limes, three handfuls of the grain which the Todas call *patcherski* (samai), jaggery, a piece of the dark *än* cloth, and the strings (*penor*) of his own *kuvn*, into the pocket of the deceased's *putkuli*. I was told that had she not had a lover, another man of the Teivilkh moiety would have been chosen to carry out this last rite it being essential to do so. Rivers says that the *mokhthodvaiol* [301] should go to the funeral with his ring on the ring-finger of his left hand. He should make the *kalmelpudithi* salutation to the woman's father before the buffaloes have been caught, and afterwards insert the symbolic objects into his dead mistress's garment with his left hand – as if to mark that his relations with her were really *de la main gauche*. In the case of a man dying, exactly the same rites will be carried out by his *sedvaitazmokh*, except that she will not make obeisance to the man's father; her brothers will in her stead (see *The Todas*, p. 366).

The Todas always make a point of saying that they may not have 648 any sexual relations, even clandestine, with non-Todas, and we have 837 seen that a divorce from a woman can be sought for if she has been convicted of such an offence. It is, I was told, a particularly heinous [834] crime for a Toda woman to have intercourse with someone not belonging to the tribe. [684] In this way, we are led to believe, Toda racial stock has been kept "pure" throughout the centuries, and I have even [143] heard it said by Indian physical anthropologists that the tribe is of a degenerate physical type, because there is too much intermarriage, and "the genes do not circulate enough".

And yet it seems that with the Muduga tribe of the Walluvanad taluk in Malabar there exists a definite institutionalised sexual relation based upon the hereditary friendship of some Todas with a few leading [114]

[Melgarsh Village]

still complaining that she had insufficient milk for both, I went to the 845
bazaar and bought he a tin of Glaxo and a bottle of Gripe-ease. On the 123
30th May, there was a definite change. The boy started looking better,
while the girl's health began to decline. Motsod had been to my bungalow early in the morning to ask me to come, as the little girl twin, he
said, was unwell. She certainly looked listless and weak, and I wondered how this could have come about so quickly. I suspected that she was [847]
not being fed properly, and I imagined it was because the Todas had,
all the same, decided to let her die, in accordance with their ancient custom of female infanticide, and of doing away with one of a pair of twins.

I went to the local government hospital, and requested the assistance [743]
of the Indian practitioner in charge, but he refused to come along, giving [648]
as an excuse that he could not possibly create a precedent by attending
aboriginals at their homes. I tried to persuade Erzigwuf to travel to the
hospital in my car, but she refused, saying that she was not well enough,
and that the baby, besides, was too sick to stand the trip. Karnos put [757]
a word in too, stating that Western medicine was no good in a case like
this, and that it was better for the child to remain at the *mad*. There
was much wailing and crying over the bad health of the child, however,
and to anybody unacquainted with Toda customs, this behaviour would
have appeared perfectly genuine.

On the morning of the 31st, Munbokwutn turned up at my bungalow 845
at 7.30 a.m. with the news that the child had died. I went immediately 763
to Melgarsh and found them all assembled in the front room of the
Warthutthiarsh (where all clan members must be brought, even from
outlying *mads*, to die), wailing and lamenting loudly over the death of
the baby. Toda visitors started arriving to take part in the mourning, [614]
and one of the first to crawl into the house on hands and knees, howling
and sobbing ritually, was Erzigwuf's father, Tinmarsh of Pan *modol*.
It all appeared perfectly real, and one nearly felt sorry for Mutnarsh,
who was sitting outside the *arsh*, crying his eyes out, while Sodup,
either from fright or in imitation, joined him heartily. Sodam, nearby,
was quite indifferent as was also Munbokwutn, the youngest father.
Only later, some four months afterwards did the Todas admit to my [847]
wife that they had let the little girl die, so that really all this exhibition
of grief was purely conventional and, if not completely hypocritical, at
least due to feelings of guilt or to the depressing effect which inexorable
customs may have on people of this kind.

The funeral took place on June 1st, and as is the Toda custom, the 764
little girl's dead body was first ceremoniously "wedded" to her *matchuni*, 588

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[Melgarsh Village]

764 588 614 775 a boy of the Pan *modol*, which made her one of the clan for the afterworld. She was consequently cremated at the Pan cremation ground, with a further display of grief and lamentation.

ADDENDUM

Observation of the children's behaviour

123 While having necessarily to question the Todas at times, principally in order to obtain explanations of things which could not simply be observed, but also in order to get as many results as possible within the few months that I was in the Nilgiris, I managed, all the same, to do quite a lot of pure observation of their everyday behaviour, without disturbing them too much, I think, by my alien presence. The very fact, however, that I was there, upset the family pattern of usual activities. This is a problem which I am sure other anthropologists have had to contend with, but for which I, for my part at least, found no really satisfactory solution. Thus, for instance, 123 the Melgarsh people, the Melgarol, very quickly discovered that I was interested in the children. They consequently would play them up for me 855 as much as they could as soon as I arrived. Sodup, who was really an ex- 159 ceptionally amusing and bright child, was specially singled out for this, and greatly encouraged to be "funny" in my presence. I believe, nevertheless, that he would have been the darling of Melgarsh anyhow, as many of his pranks, as far as I was concerned, were his own genuine invention and were definitely not suggested by those around him.

Some of the things he said and did were quite remarkable and of con- 159 siderable psychological interest. Thus one day (May 2nd, 1949), he started 857 off to tell how his father (Mutnarsh) was wonderfully skilled in the art of catching buffaloes by the horns (as is the practice at Toda funerals: see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 349). His mouth puckered up; his eyes flashing, and waving a small cane in his hand, he went on to show how he, Sodup, treated the calf which had been entrusted to his care. He said it drank too much milk and that he had to beat it to stop from doing so. Switching to another subject, he told us how a rat had made a hole in the house in which he lived, and how he had watched it go through that hole. He came back to the calf theme very soon after and began illustrating the way he beat the calf by running after the girls present: Pengelam, Mutmali and Närshmali. Pretending to be very frightened, they ran away from him with laughter and cries, which were intended, of course, to encourage him even more. Sodam, his twin sister, looked on from her mother's side, with great round, frightened eyes.

After the funeral of his ill-fated little sister, Sodup indulged in the following antics. He began by telling us that the surviving baby cried too much, and that it had better beware, as the other one had been taken away dead, by the scruff of the neck (?) to a funeral. Changing the subject abruptly, he said that his uncle Singarsh was too often in the bazaar and

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TO 595 one another's wives, and it happens that they can even retain such a woman they have stolen from other families, if they pay compensation to the husbands. This goes on continually and one sees some women who have been to three or four families in turn. The Todas do not seem to be any more jealous than the Tibetans, but perhaps this very laxity gives an outlet for jealousy, since they can steal one another's women, so that this does not appear to be a good instance for the study of jealousy among a polyandrous people.

To 837 595 764 There are numerous extra-marital relations, which are tolerated as long as they take place among Todas. At the funeral of a Toda woman, it is curious to note that there is one individual who officiates in addition to the husbands, and usually he is supposed to be the official lover of the woman. This looks peculiar, since they have it only in a ritual, and it may indicate that they once practised non-fraternal polyandry and that this official lover who officiates together with the husbands is perhaps only a survival of a non-fraternal mate.

To 836 586 848 Pre-nuptial relations are forbidden among both men and women, and there are never any illegitimate children among the Todas, as they are always born within one family (since "marriage" takes place in infancy) and considered legitimate. The men alone are allowed to divorce, but women may never do so. The usual ground for divorce is that they have stolen one another's wives. The only case in which a woman is divorced with ignominy is if she has had relations with a non-Toda. In that case, she is driven from her home, her hair cut, and usually tied to a buffalo with coconuts attached to its neck, after being beaten by the community.

To 595 The impression I got was that Toda polyandry was loose and decadent, and that, today, we see only the remnants of a former, more efficient type of polyandrous organization.

000 *Tiya Polyandry.* The Tiyas, living in

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be little doubt that this condition must have been very remote" 114
(Rivers, 1906, p. 547).

How, then, does Emeneau discover matrilineal clans? To answer 114
this question, let us consider the marriage rules. First, the terminology: 601
it is not reproduced here, but there is agreement among all writers 582
that it is of the usual Dravidian type and identical in structure to
those we have described for Ceylon. As Emeneau notes, it turns around
the proposition that "spouse = cross-cousin." Hence the MB is also
father-in-law and FZH, and so on. Again, it is quite clear that all marriages
must take place between the persons in the categories of
matchuni (cross-cousins). Both Rivers and Emeneau note that mistakes
occur and that they are disapproved of; and Emeneau provides important
examples of how the kinship terminology must be altered
after a mistake has taken place.

Even though there are mistakes, the correct union is the marriage of 114
matchuni. Rivers (1906) states the rule unequivocally: "While mar- 582
riage with the daughter of a father's brother and a mother's sister is
prohibited, the daughter of a father's sister or a mother's brother is
the natural wife of a man" (p. 512). The clearest recognition of the 582
rule is to be seen in the funeral ceremonies of an unmarried girl. Like 588
the Nambudiri Brahman in Malabar, the Toda do not risk letting 764
women out of their control unmarried. The system must be closed and
hence the girl even in death must be firmly married. In the final
funereal and tragic bow-and-arrow ritual, "the husband always stands
in the relation of matchuni to the wife" (p. 514).

The position seems to us clear enough, but Rivers does not always 114
follow his own logic. He goes astray in trying to translate the matter 582
into English: "While marriages between *matchuni* are the rule and
marriages between the children of *matchuni* [1] certainly not unlawful,
we have seen that marriage with the child of a *matchuni* [2] is
prohibited. From our point of view, this means that while marriage
with a first cousin is orthodox, marriage with a first cousin once removed
is unlawful, while again it seems that marriage with a first
cousin twice removed may be lawful" (1906, p. 513; my numerals).

We need hardly point out that in these categorical systems persons
in situation (1) are again directly *matchuni* to each other, whereas
those in situation (2) are in the position of son or daughter. Rivers'
ethnography is so detailed that the basic pattern comes through very
clearly, even though many further questions may be raised. Emeneau
has much greater difficulty. He seems to think simply in terms of exogamy.
The patrilineal clan is "exogamous." What, then, of the children
of the sisters of the mother? It is here that he reifies the [614]
puliol into a matrilineal "sib": "One of the *functions* of the matri-

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
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and-arrow ceremony of the Todas, the position of the child in the 171
kin group is not in any doubt. We cannot argue that wherever we have 582
the general structure we shall also find a loose or easily alterable con- 601
nection between the spouses, but we can argue that the orderliness of 602
marriageable and nonmarriageable kin categories permits a wide definition of the connection between the spouses: it can mean simply "intercourse," or, as in southern Ceylon, it can create a unique estate and a lasting bond between the pair. The open possibility of the loose connection clearly makes both polyandry and polygyny possible among people who utilize some version of the general structure. We shall look at further examples later on.

The similarity between the kin structure of the Toda and the peo- 171
ples discussed in Ceylon is hardly surprising. There have been many 177
close contacts between Ceylon and the mainland. Not only does the [602]
culture give an impression of underlying similarity but the similarity sometimes persists when pursued to the particulars of ceremonies.
Thus the gift of a cloth at the union of a man and woman is a custom [585]
found among the Toda, the Sinhalese, and many castes on the Malabar
coast. Again, the white cloths which are placed on the corpse by the [764] •
Kandyan Sinhalese are found among the Toda (and Nayar) though each community puts this cloth to different use.

The further similarity, too, in such key words as *ichchil* (pollution) 171
in Toda and *kili* in Sinhalese, or *matchuni* (Toda for cross-cousin) [192]
and *massina* (Sinhalese), and many others increases the impression that we are dealing with variations on a common theme.[4] It is the fundamental features common to both systems which have engaged our attention: it could certainly not be claimed that structural similarity goes beyond the fundamentals. But that is the point: each community in this region uses a variety of special customs to set itself off from others. The manner of wearing clothes, different types of sari and dress, bodily marks—all these are well known. But it appears that the process has been carried even into matters of structural importance, so that one community will have a certain kind of marriage simply in order to distinguish itself even more from another community.

TANJORE ADI DRAVIDA AND BRAHMAN 000

Although many books have been written by scholars and others on the multifold aspects of Southeast India, those that deal with kinship are few, and of recent date. Our conclusions must, of necessity, be limited

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[4] The intriguing similarity between the manner of wearing their robes by the Toda priests (who handle the sacred milk) and by Buddhist monks elsewhere is obviously hardly an accident.